

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS

*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*

4:1

---

# THE LIFE OF ST ANDREW THE FOOL

Edited by

Lennart Rydén

I

Introduction, Testimonies and *Nachleben*

Indices



UPPSALA 1995





ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS

*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*

4:1



# THE LIFE OF ST ANDREW THE FOOL

Edited by  
Lennart Rydén

## I

Introduction, Testimonies and *Nachleben*  
Indices

UPPSALA 1995

Published with financial support from the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR)

### Abstract

Rydén, L., 1995. The Life of St Andrew the Fool. I. Introduction, Testimonies and *Nachleben*. Indices. Acta Univ. Ups., *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 4:1. 304 pp. Uppsala. ISBN 91-554-3652-8.

St Andrew is a so-called Holy Fool said to have lived in 5th-century Constantinople but in fact invented by the author of the Vita, who introduces himself as Nikephoros, priest at St Sophia; he appears to have been active in the middle or the latter half of the 10th century. The introduction discusses the literary, stylistic and chronological problems connected with the Vita, analyses the author's world view and tries to show that a majuscule fragment preserved in Munich is a remaining part of the autograph and therefore crucial for the establishment of a critical text. It also contains a catalogue of the more than 100 MSS in which the Vita, entirely or in parts, has been copied as well as a survey of how St Andrew has been remembered in other ways. The volume ends with a number of indices intended to facilitate the use of the edition.

Lennart Rydén, Department of Classical Philology, Uppsala University, Box 513, S-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden.

ISSN 0283-1244

ISBN 91-554-3651-X (vols. I–II)

ISBN 91-554-3652-8 (vol. I)

ISBN 91-554-3653-6 (vol. II)

© Lennart Rydén 1995

Printed in Sweden

Textgruppen i Uppsala AB, 1995

Distributor: Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm, Sweden

# Contents

Acknowledgements . . . . .	7
----------------------------	---

Texts, Studies, Collections and Periodicals quoted in Abbreviation. . .	9
---	---

## Introduction

Summary of the Text. . . . .	23
The Composition . . . . .	27
The Portrait of Andrew . . . . .	32
The Chronological Fiction. . . . .	38
The Date of Composition . . . . .	41
The Author and his Conceptual Cosmos. . . . .	57
The Majuscule Fragment. . . . .	72
Other Manuscripts used for this Edition . . . . .	82
The Chapter Headings . . . . .	106
Language and Style . . . . .	120
Conclusion. . . . .	143
Principles of Edition and Translation . . . . .	144

## Testimonies and *Nachleben*

Manuscripts . . . . .	151
Editions . . . . .	182
Paraphrases . . . . .	184
Translations . . . . .	186
The Life of Andrew and the Life of Nippon . . . . .	190
References to Andrew in other Medieval Texts . . . . .	192
Andrew in Art . . . . .	195
Two Monasteries associated with Andrew in Russian Sources . . . .	203

## Indices

Biblical Quotations and Reminiscences	
Old Testament . . . . .	207
New Testament . . . . .	209
Other Texts mentioned in Notes to the Translation. . . . .	212
Dubious and unidentified Quotations . . . . .	218
Proverbs. . . . .	219
Vocabulary and Names . . . . .	220



## Acknowledgements

This edition has been long in the making. In fact, for various reasons the delay has been so long that several scholars whom I would have liked to thank at this moment have passed away. In particular I would have liked to thank Father Marcel Richard at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, for generously providing me with microfilms, Father François Halkin of the Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, for moral support and good advice, and Professor Paul Alexander, at that time of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, for stimulating my study of apocalypse.

Among those who have survived I wish to thank Professors Cyril Mango of Oxford and Ihor Ševčenko of Harvard whose acquaintance I had the opportunity to make during a fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks more than twenty years ago. I have greatly benefited from their penetrating observations and been much encouraged by their interest in the subject. A second stay at Dumbarton Oaks brought me into contact with Professor Alexander Kazhdan, who kindly reviewed parts of the Introduction and deepened my understanding of the literary character of the *Vita* and of the mentality it reflects. Professor Erich Trapp, Bonn, kindly helped me solve several lexicographical problems.

During the eighties Dr Jan Olof Rosenqvist was my very able assistant. He scrutinized most of the manuscript, removing embarrassing errors and suggesting improvements, and for this I owe him my gratitude. I also thank Dr Paolo Cesaretti, who revealed some inadvertencies as he translated the *Vita* into Italian on the basis of my text and translation. Mistress T.J.M. Gray and Donald MacQueen revised my English. Ingrid Ulff, Eva Nyström, Henrik Vitalis, Maria Fredriksson and, in particular, Tore Hållander and Hermanni Pihlajamaa helped me prepare the manuscript for the printers, and I thank them all. It goes without saying that I alone am responsible for any errors that remain.

I further thank the institutes and libraries whose hospitality and service I have enjoyed, in the first place the University Library at Uppsala and the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington D.C., but also the Vatican Library in Rome, the Bibliothèque nationale and the Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance in Paris, the monastic libraries on Mount Athos, and many others.

8 *The Life of Andrew the Fool*

Lastly I wish to thank the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences, under whose auspices I worked for two decades. Without the excellent conditions provided by the Council this edition would never have been completed.

Lennart Rydén

Uppsala

December, 1994



# Texts, Studies, Collections and Periodicals quoted in Abbreviation

AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*

AB = *Analecta Bollandiana*

Abh = *Abhandlungen*

ActDavSymGeorg = The Acts of Saints David, Symeon and George, *BHG* 494

Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition* = P. J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. by Dorothy deF. Abrahamse (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1985)

Annales = *Annales. Économies–Sociétés–Civilisations*

AnonByz, *DeCaellnEp*, ed. Radermacher = L. Radermacher, *Anonymi byzantini de caelo et inferis epistula*, in *idem, Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*, III, 2 (Leipzig, 1898), 14–25

ApocAnastasiae = *Visio Anastasiae*, *BHG* 1870

ApocDan = The Apocalypse of Daniel, *BHG* 2036d

ApocDanArm = The apocalypse of Daniel in Armenian, in F. Macler, “Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel,” *RHR*, 33 (1896), 37–53, 163–76, 288–319, esp. 290–309

ApocPaul = The Apocalypse of St Paul, in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, tr. by M.R. James (repr. Oxford, 1983), 526–53

ApophthPatr = *Apophthegmata Patrum*, PG 65, 71–440

Bauer = W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 6th revised ed. by K. and B. Aland (Berlin–New York, 1988)

BDR = F. Blass–A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. Bearbeitet von F. Rehkopf, 15th ed. (Göttingen, 1979)

Beck, *Kirche* = H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959)

Belting–Cavallo, *Bibel des Niketas* = H. Belting–G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas. Ein Werk der höfischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und sein antikes Vorbild* (Wiesbaden, 1979)

Benešević, *Catalogus* = V. Benešević, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio S. Catharinae in monte Sina asservantur*, I (St Petersburg, 1911)

Berger, *Untersuchungen* = A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinopoleos* [Poikila Byzantina, 8] (Bonn, 1988)

BHG = *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3rd ed. by F. Halkin, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1957); with *Novum Auctarium* (Brussels, 1984)

Blaise, *Dictionnaire* = A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du moyen-âge* (Turnhout, 1975)

BMGS = *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*

BNJbb = *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*

# 10 The Life of Andrew the Fool

- Book of the Eparch*, ed. Koder = *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*. Einführung, Edition, Übersetzung und Indices von J. Koder (Vienna, 1991)
- Bousset, *Antichrist* = W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (Göttingen, 1895)
- Bousset, "Beiträge" = W. Bousset, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie (Schluss)," *ZKirch*, 20 (1900), 261–90
- Brock, "Sources" = S.P. Brock, "Syriac Sources for Seventh-century History," *BMGS*, 2 (1976), 17–36
- Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* = R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1983)
- BS = *Byzantinoslavica*
- ByzF = *Byzantinische Forschungen*
- ByzMetabyz = *Byzantina et Metabyzantina. A Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
- BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- CahArch = *Cahiers archéologiques*
- Cameron–Herrin, *Constantinople* = Averil Cameron–Judith Herrin, ed., *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984)
- CChr, ser. gr. = *Corpus Christianorum*, series graeca
- de Chapeaurouge, "Rettung der Seele" = D. de Chapeaurouge, "Die Rettung der Seele. Genesis eines mittelalterlichen Bild-themas," *Wallraff-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 35 (Cologne, 1973), 9–54
- Constantine of Rhodes, *Ekphrasis*, ed. Legrand = E. Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des saints Apôtres de Constantinople. Poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien," *REG*, 9 (1896), 36–65
- Dagron, *CP imaginaire* = G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des "Patria"* (Paris, 1984)
- Dagron, "Le saint, le savant, l'astrologue" = G. Dagron, "Le saint, le savant, l'astrologue. Étude de thèmes hagiographiques à travers quelques recueils de 'questions et réponses' des Ve–VIIe siècles" in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés (IVe–VIIe s.). Études Augustiniennes* (Paris, 1981), 143–55; repr. in G. Dagron, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient: Héritages et mutations* (London, 1984), no. IV
- Dagron, "L'homme sans honneur" = G. Dagron, "L'homme sans honneur ou le saint scandaleux," *Annales*, 45 (1990), 929–39
- Dagron, *Traité = Le traité sur la guérilla (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963–969)*. Texte établi par G. Dagron et H. Mihaescu. Traduction et commentaire par G. Dagron (Paris, 1986)
- DAI = Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967)
- Daniel Kai êstai* = The Vision of Daniel, *BHG* 1872, as treated by Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 77–95
- Darrouzès, *Épistoliers* = J. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960)
- De cer.*, ed. Reiske = Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J.J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829–30)
- De cer.*, ed. Vogt = Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt, I–II (Paris, 1927–39, repr. 1967)
- Demetrakos = *Μέγα λεξικὸν ὀλης ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, I–IX (Athens, 1958)



*DictSpir* = *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*

*DigAkr* = *Digenes Akrites* [version G], ed. J. Mavrogordato (Oxford, 1956)

*DigAkr*, rec. E, ed. Trapp = E. Trapp, *Digenes Akrites. Synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen* (Vienna, 1971)

Diller, "Age" = A. Diller, "The Age of Some Early Greek Classical Manuscripts," in J.L. Heller, ed., *Serta Turyniana. Studies in Greek Literature and Palaeography in Honor of Alexander Turyn* (Urbana-Chicago-London, 1974), 514-24

Dinzelbacher, *Mittelalt. Visionslit.* = P. Dinzelbacher, *Mittelalterliche Visionsliteratur. Eine Anthologie* (Darmstadt, 1989)

*DoctrIac* = *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. and tr. by V. Déroche, *TM*, 11 (1991), 69-219

*DOP* = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

*Douze récits*, ed. Halkin = F. Halkin, ed., *Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome* [SubsHag, 60] (Brussels, 1977)

Du Cange = C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyons, 1688, repr. Paris, 1943)

*EChR* = *Eastern Churches Review*

*EEBS* = *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinôn Spoudôn*

Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* = A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, erster Teil*, vols. I-III (Leipzig, 1936-9)

Eustratiades, *Συμπλήρωμα* = S. Eustratiades, *Συμπλήρωμα ἀγορευτικῶν κατὰ λόγον Βατοπεδίου καὶ Λαύρας* (Paris, 1930)

Eustratiades-Arcadios, *Catalogue* = S. Eustratiades-Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* [Harvard Theological Studies, XI] (Cambridge, Mass., 1924)

Festugière, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* = Léontios de Néapolis, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, annotated ed. by A.J. Festugière in collaboration with L. Rydén (Paris, 1974)

Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn* = A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn. I. Texte grec. II. Traduction, commentaire et appendice* [SubsHag, 48] (Brussels, 1970)

Fourmy-Leroy = M.-H. Fourmy-M. Leroy, "La Vie de S. Philarète," *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 85-170

Gamillscheg-Harlfinger, *Repertorium* = E. Gamillscheg-D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, erster Teil, A* (Vienna, 1981)

Garitte, "Vision de Sahak" = G. Garitte, "La vision de S. Sahak en grec," *Le Muséon*, 71 (1958), 255-78

Goar, *Euchologion* = J. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* 2nd ed. (Venice, 1730, repr. Graz, 1960)

*GOrThR* = *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*

Grégoire-Orgels, "L'invasion hongroise" = H. Grégoire-P. Orgels, "L'invasion hongroise dans la 'Vie de Saint Basile le Jeune'," *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 147-54

Grosdidier de Matons, "Thèmes" = J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Les thèmes d'édification dans la Vie d'André Salos," *TM*, 4 (1970), 277-328

Haldon, *Three Treatises* = Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*. Introduction, Edition, Translation and Commentary by J.F. Haldon (Vienna, 1990)

- Halkin, *Catalogue* = F. Halkin, *Catalogue des manuscrits hagiographiques de la Bibliothèque nationale d'Athènes* [SubsHag, 66] (Brussels, 1983)
- Halkin, *Inédits* = F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* [SubsHag, 38] (Brussels, 1963)
- Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris* = F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris: Inventaire hagiographique* [SubsHag, 44] (Brussels, 1968)
- Halkin, "Vie de Constantin" = F. Halkin, "Une nouvelle Vie de Constantin dans un légendier de Patmos," *AB*, 77 (1959), 63–107
- Hardt, *Catalogus* = I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, IV–V (Munich, 1810–12)
- PsHippolytos, *Consmundi* = *Hippolytus Werke*, erster Band: *Exegetische und homiletische Schriften*, ed. by G.N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis (Leipzig, 1897), 287–309 (Anhang II)
- HistLaus* = *The Lausic History of Palladios*, BHG 1438c
- Hunger, *Katalog* = H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I (Vienna, 1961)
- Hunger, "Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften" = H. Hunger, "Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften im 10.–12. Jahrhundert," in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* [Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 559] (Paris, 1977), 201–20
- Istrin = V. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodija Patarskago i Apokrifičeskija Videnija Daniila. Izsledovanie i Teksty*, II (Moscow, 1897)
- Janin, *Églises* = R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Première partie: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. III, Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969)
- Janin, *CPbyz* = R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964)
- Jenkins, "Symeon the 'Logothete'" = R.J.H. Jenkins, "The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete' for the Years A.D. 867–913," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 89–112
- JÖB* = *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- JohDam, *Expfid*, ed. Kotter = B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. II, Expositio fidei* (Berlin–New York, 1973)
- JohDam, *Imag*, ed. Kotter = B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. III, Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres* (Berlin–New York, 1975)
- Kazhdan, "Ambo" = A. Kazhdan, "A Note on the 'Middle-Byzantine' Ambo," *Byzantion*, 57 (1987), 422–6
- Kekaumenos, ed. Litavrin = G.G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moscow, 1972), 118–306
- Kekaumenos, ed. Wassiliewsky–Jernstedt = *Cecaumeni strategicon*, ed. by B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg, 1896, repr. Amsterdam, 1965)
- PsKodinos, ed. Verpeaux = Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1976)
- Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography* = Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. W. Wolska-Conus, 1–3 (Paris, 1968–73)
- Koukoules, *Byzantinôn bios* = Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, I–VI (Athens, 1948–57)
- Koukoules, "Νεκρικὰ ἔθιμα" = Ph. Koukoules, "Βυζαντινῶν νεκρικὰ ἔθιμα," *EEBS*, 16 (1940), 3–80



- Koukoules, "Νεοελληνικά λέξεις" = Ph. Koukoules, "Νεοελληνικῶν λέξεων καὶ φράσεων παλαιότερα μνεία," *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*, 2:6 (Athens, 1955–6), 225–338
- Kresten, "Iustinianos I." = O. Kresten, "Iustinianos I., der „Christusliebende“ Kaiser. Zum Epitheton φιλόχριστος in den intitutiones byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden," *RömHistMitt*, 21 (1979), 83–109
- Kriaras = E. Kriaras, *Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημῶδους γραμματείας 1100–1669* (Thessalonica, 1969ff.)
- Krueger, *Cynics, Christians, and Holy Fools* = D. Krueger, *Cynics, Christians, and Holy Fools: The Late Antique Contexts of Leontius of Neapolis' "Life of Symeon the Fool"* (UMI, Ann Arbor, 1993)
- Krumbacher, *Der hl. Georg* = K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (Munich, 1911)
- Kyriakakis, "Burial Customs" = J. Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs: Care of the Deceased from Death to the Prothesis," *GOrThR*, 19 (1974), 37–72
- Lake, *Dated Minuscule Manuscripts* = K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, I–X (Boston, 1934–9)
- Lampe = *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. by G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961)
- Lampros, *Catalogue* = S.P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I–II (Cambridge, 1895–1900)
- Lazarev, *Moscow School* = V.N. Lazarev, *Moscow School of Icon-painting* (Moscow, 1971)
- LChrI* = *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. E. Kirschbaum and W. Braunsfels, I–VIII (Rome–Freiburg–Basel–Vienna, 1968–76)
- Leroy, "Manuscripts grecs en minuscule" = J. Leroy, "Les manuscrits grecs en minuscule des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles de la Marcienne," *JÖB*, 27 (1978), 25–48
- Leroy, *Types de réglure* = J. Leroy, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976)
- LSJ = *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised and augmented by H.S. Jones, 9th ed. (Oxford, 1940); supplement by E.A. Barber (Oxford, 1968)
- Maas, "Review" = P. Maas, review of Murray, *A Study*, in *BZ*, 21 (1912), 317–19
- Magdalino, "History of the Future" = P. Magdalino, "The history of the future and its uses: prophecy, policy and propaganda," in R. Beaton and Ch. Roueché, eds., *The Making of Byzantine History, Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (London, 1993), 3–34
- Majeska, *Russian Travelers* = G.P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984)
- Malalas, ed. Dindorf = *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831)
- Mandelaras = B.G. Mandelaras, "Λόγιοι ἀθησαύριστοι λέξεις ἐκ βυζαντινῶν κειμένων," *Athena*, 62 (1958), 320–68
- Mango, "Addendum" = C. Mango, "Addendum to the Report on Everyday Life," *JÖB*, 31.1 (1982), 252–7; repr. in id., *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984), no. IVa
- Mango, "Antique Statuary" = C. Mango, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Be-holder," *DOP*, 17 (1963), 53–75; repr. in id., *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984), no. V

## 14 *The Life of Andrew the Fool*

- Mango, *Art* = C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (repr., Toronto, 1986)
- Mango, *Byzantium* = C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980)
- Mango, *Développement* = C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1985, repr. Paris, 1990)
- Mango, “Hagiographer at Work” = C. Mango, “A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis,” in I. Hutter, ed., *Byzanz und der Westen* (Vienna, 1984), 25–41
- Mango, “Life Reconsidered” = C. Mango, “The Life of St Andrew the Fool Reconsidered,” *RSBS*, 2 (1982), 297–313; repr. in id., *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984), no. VIII
- MartHyakinth = The martyrdom of St Hyakinthos of Amastris, *BHG* 756z, ed. in F. Halkin, *Hagiographica inedita decem* (Turnhout–Leuven, 1989), 57–62
- Mathews, *Early Churches* = Th. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park–London, 1971)
- Mazal, “Überlieferung” = O. Mazal, “Zur hagiographischen Überlieferung und zur Ikonographie des heiligen Georg im byzantinischen Bereich,” *Codices Manuscripti*, 15 (1990), 101–36
- McCormick, *Eternal Victory* = M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986, repr. 1987)
- PsMethodios = The Revelation of pseudo-Methodios, *BHG* 2036
- Miller, *Catalogue* = E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque de l’Escurial* (Paris, 1848)
- Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci* = *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, rec. E. Mioni. *Indici e Cataloghi*, NS, VI, vol. II (Rome, 1960) and III (Rome, 1972)
- MirAnastPers = The Miracles of St Anastasios the Persian, *BHG* 90; new ed. in B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l’histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIIe siècle*. I, *Les textes* (Paris, 1992), 117–53
- MirArtem = The Miracles of St Artemios, *BHG* 173
- MirGeorg, ed. Aufhauser = *Miracula S. Georgii*, ed. J.B. Aufhauser (Leipzig, 1913)
- MirTheclae = The Miracles of St Thekla, *BHG* 1717–18
- Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* = Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I–II, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1983)
- Moravcsik, “Sagen und Legenden” = Gy. Moravcsik, “Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I,” *DOP*, 15 (1961), 59–126
- Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* = W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977)
- Murray, *A Study* = Sara Murray, *A Study of the Life of Andreas, The Fool for the Sake of Christ* (Borna–Leipzig, 1910)
- NarrSozEleem = The story of Sozomenos the Merciful, *BHG* 1322s
- ODB = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A.P. Kazhdan and others (New York–Oxford, 1991)
- Oikonomides, *Listes* = N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972)



- Omout, *Inventaire*, II = H. Omout, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, II (Paris, 1888)
- Onasch, *Einführung* = K. Onasch, *Einführung in die Konfessionskunde der orthodoxen Kirchen* (Berlin, 1962)
- OrChr = *Oriens christianus*
- OrSib, ed. Geffcken = *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, bearbeitet von J. Geffcken (Leipzig, 1902)
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Ἐκθεσις" = A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Ἐκθεσις παλαιογραφικῶν καὶ φιλολογικῶν ἐρευνῶν ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ. Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος. Παράρτημα τοῦ ιζ' τόμου (Constantinople, 1886)
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη" = A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, I–V (St Petersburg, 1891–1915)
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαυρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη* = A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαυρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη ἥτοι γενικὸς περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος ... χειρογράφων. Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος. Παράρτημα τοῦ ιε' – ιη' τόμου (Constantinople, 1884–8)*
- Parastaseis = *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, in Preger, *Scriptores*, 19–73; repr. in *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. Averil Cameron–Judith Herrin (Leiden, 1984)
- PassArethae = The Passion of St Arethas and his companions, *BHG* 166
- Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde" = Evelyne Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde. Observations sur quelques récits", in *Faire Croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVIe siècle. Table ronde, Rome, 22–23 juin 1979*. [Collection de l'École française de Rome, 51] (1981), 201–21
- Patlagean, "Sainteté" = Evelyne Patlagean, "Sainteté et pouvoir," in *The Byzantine Saint. University of Birmingham, Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. by S. Hackel [Studies Supplementary to Sobornost, 5] (London, 1981), 88–105
- Paenitentia Pelagiae = The Penance of St Pelagia, *BHG* 1478
- Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio* = A. Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo. Significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in oriente e in occidente*, ed. postuma a cura di E. Morini (Rome, 1988)
- Petit, *Bibliographie* = L. Petit, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques* [SubsHag, 16] (Brussels, 1926)
- Pezopoulos = E.A. Pezopoulos, "'Αθησαύριστοι λέξεις," *Byzantis*, 2 (1911–12), 127–36
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
- Pietro della Valle, *The Pilgrim* = Pietro della Valle, *The Pilgrim*, The Journeys of Pietro della Valle translated, abridged and introduced by G. Bull (London, 1989)
- Polites, *Συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι* = L. Polites, in collaboration with M.I. Manousakas, *Συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι χειρογράφων Ἀγίου Ὁρους (Thessalonica, 1973)*
- Polites, "'Υβριστικὰ σχήματα" = N.G. Polites, "'Υβριστικὰ σχήματα," *Lao-graphia*, 4 (1913), 601–69
- PratSpir = John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*, PG 87:3, 2852–3112

- Preger, *Scriptores* = T. Preger, ed., *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1901–7)
- Pribsch, “Letter from Heaven” = R. Pribsch, “Letter from Heaven on the Observance of the Lord’s Day,” *Medium Aevum*, 5:3 (1936), Suppl., 1–37
- Prinzing–Simon, *Fest und Alltag* = G. Prinzing–D. Simon, eds., *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*. H.-G. Beck zum 18. Februar 1990 (Munich, 1990)
- Prinzing–Speck, “Fünf Lokalitäten” = G. Prinzing–P. Speck, “Fünf Lokalitäten in Konstantinopel. (Das Bad Κωνσταντινιαναί; die Paläste Κωνσταντινιαναί und τὰ Κώνστα; das Ζεύγμα; das Ἐπτάσκαλον),” in H.-G. Beck, ed., *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels* (Munich, 1973), 179–227
- Psaltis, *Grammatik* = St.B. Psaltis, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken* [Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik, 2] (Göttingen, 1913)
- RAC = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1950–)
- RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- REB = *Revue des études byzantines*
- Recheis, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise* = A. Recheis, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise* (Rome, 1958)
- REG = *Revue des études grecques*
- Reil, “Akzentuation” = M. Reil, “Zur Akzentuation griechischer Handschriften,” *BZ*, 19 (1910), 476–529
- Reinink, “Ismael” = G.J. Reinink, “Ismael, der Wildesel in der Wüste. Zur Typologie der Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodios,” *BZ*, 75 (1982), 336–44
- Reinink, “Legende” = G.J. Reinink, “Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom römischen Endkaiser,” in W. Verbeke–D. Verhelst–A. Welkenhuysen, eds., *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1988), 82–111
- Rhalles–Potles, *Syntagma* = K. Rhalles–M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I–VI (Athens, 1852–9)
- RHR = *Revue de l’histoire des religions*
- Rigo, *Oracula Leonis* = A. Rigo, *Oracula Leonis. Tre manoscritti greco-veneziani degli oracoli attribuiti all’imperatore bizantino Leone il Saggio* (Bodl. Baroc. 170, Marc. gr. VII.22, Marc. gr. VII.3) (Padua, 1988)
- RömHistMitt = *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*
- Rosenqvist, “Der Text” = J.O. Rosenqvist, “Der Text der Vita Theodori Syceotae im Cod. Atheniensis BN 1014,” *Eranos*, 78 (1980), 163–74
- RSBS = *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*
- Rydén, “Andreas Salos Apocalypse” = L. Rydén, “The Andreas Salos Apocalypse. Greek Text, Translation and Commentary,” *DOP*, 28 (1974), 197–261
- Rydén, “Aufbau” = L. Rydén, “Zum Aufbau der Andreas Salos-Apokalypse,” *Eranos*, 66 (1968), 101–17
- Rydén, “Basil the Younger” = L. Rydén, “The Life of St. Basil the Younger and the Date of the Life of St. Andreas Salos,” in *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VII (1983), 568–86
- Rydén, “Date” = L. Rydén, “The date of the *Life of Andreas Salos*,” *DOP*, 32 (1978), 127–55
- Rydén, “Holy Fool” = L. Rydén, “The Holy Fool,” in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint* (London, 1981), 106–13



- Rydén, *Leben* = L. Rydén, *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Uppsala, 1963)
- Rydén, "Niphon" = L. Rydén, "The Date of the Life of St Niphon, *BHG* 1371z," in S.-T. Teodorsson, ed., *Greek and Latin Studies in Memory of Cajus Fabricius* (Gothenburg, 1990), 33–40
- Rydén, "Note" = L. Rydén, "A Note on Some References to the Church of St. Anastasia in Constantinople in the 10th Century," *Byzantion*, 44 (1974), 198–201
- Rydén, "Revised Version" = L. Rydén, "The Revised Version of the 'Life of St Philaretos the Merciful' and the 'Life of St Andreas Salos'," *AB*, 100 (1982), 485–95
- Rydén, "Style" = L. Rydén, "Style and Historical Fiction in the Life of St. Andreas Salos," *JÖB*, 32/3 (1982), 175–83
- Rydén, "Vision of the Virgin" = L. Rydén, "The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of Pokrov," *AB*, 94 (1976), 63–82
- Rydén, "Zum Wortschatz" = L. Rydén, "Zum Wortschatz der verschiedenen Fassungen der Vita des Andreas Salos," in W. Hörandner–E. Trapp, eds., *Lexicographica Byzantina. Beiträge zum Symposium zur byzantinischen Lexikographie* (Wien, 1.–4.3.1989) (Vienna, 1991), 219–33
- Rystencko, *Materialien* = A.V. Rystencko, *Materialien zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-slavischen Literatur und Sprache* (Odessa, 1928)
- Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος* = I. and A.I. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens, 1892)
- de Santos Otero = A. de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apocrifos* (Madrid, 1956)
- SettStu* = *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo*
- Ševčenko, "Hagiography" = I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," in A. Bryer–Judith Herrin, eds., *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham, 1977), 113–31
- Ševčenko, "Levels of Style" = I. Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose," *JÖB*, 31/1 (1981), 289–312
- Ševčenko, "On Some Sources" = I. Ševčenko, "On Some Sources of Prince Svjatoslav's *Izbornik* of the Year 1076," in *Orbis Scriptus. Dmitrii Tschizewskij zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1966), 723–38; repr. in I. Ševčenko, *Byzantium and the Slavs* (Cambr., Mass., 1991), 241–61
- Shepard, "Information" = J. Shepard, "Information, Desinformation and Delay in Byzantine Diplomacy," *ByzF*, 10 (1985), 233–93
- Sophocles = E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Cambridge, Mass., 1887)
- Speck, *Jamben* = Theodoros Studites, *Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände*, ed. P. Speck (Berlin, 1968)
- Spyridakes, "Τὰ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίην ἔθιμα" = G.K. Spyridakes, "Τὰ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίην ἔθιμα τῶν Βυζαντινῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀγιολογικῶν πηγῶν," *EEBS*, 20 (1950), 75–171
- Spyridon–Eustratiades, *Catalogue* = Spyridon–S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos* [Harvard Theological Studies, XII] (Cambridge, 1925)
- ST* = *Studi e testi*
- Stichel, "Füsse Christi" = R. Stichel, "Die Füsse Christi" in *Migratio et commutatio. Studien zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*. Festschrift Thomas Pékary (St. Katharinen, Scripta mercaturae, 1989), 337–45

- Stichel, "Verführung" = R. Stichel, "Die Verführung der Stammeltern durch Satanael nach der Kurzfassung der slavischen Baruch-Apokalypse," *Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen Philol.-Hist. Kl.*, Ser. 3, no. 177 (Göttingen, 1989), 116–28
- StItalFCl* = *Studi italiani di filologia classica*
- StudbyzLex* = E. Trapp, J. Diethart, G. Fatouros, Astrid Steiner, W. Hörandner, *Studien zur byzantinischen Lexikographie* (Vienna, 1988)
- SubsHag = *Subsidia Hagiographica*, Société des Bollandistes
- SymNT, *Catéchèses* = Syméon le nouveau théologien, *Catéchèses*, ed. B. Krivochéine, tr. by J. Paramelle, I–III (Paris, 1963–5)
- SynaxCP = *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)
- Tabachovitz, *Études* = D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* [Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Hum. Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala 36:3] (Uppsala–Leipzig, 1943)
- Tabachovitz, *Studien* = D. Tabachovitz, *Sprachliche und textkritische Studien zur Chronik des Theophanes Confessor* (Uppsala, 1926)
- TGL = H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, I–VIII (Paris, 1831–65)
- Theognostos, *Thesaurus*, ed. Munitiz = Theognosti *Thesaurus*, ed. J.A. Munitiz [CChr, ser. gr., 5] (Turnhout–Leuven, 1979)
- TheophConf, *Chronographia* = Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I–II (Leipzig, 1883–5; repr. Hildesheim–New York, 1980)
- TheophCont* = *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838)
- Three Treatises*, ed. Haldon, see Haldon
- TM* = *Travaux et mémoires*
- Tougaard = A. Tougaard, *Quid ad profanos mores dignoscendos augendaque lexica conferant Acta Sanctorum Graeca Bollandiana* (Paris, 1874)
- Trepmpelas, *Μικρὸν εὐχολόγιον* = N.P. Trepmpelas, *Μικρὸν εὐχολόγιον*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1950–5)
- Trombley, "Decline" = F.R. Trombley, "The Decline of the Seventh-Century Town: The Exception of Euchaita," in S. Vryoniis, Jr, ed., *Byzantine Studies in Honor of V. Anastos* [ByzMetabyz, 4] (Malibu, 1985), 65–90
- Trypanis, *Cantica* = C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna, 1968)
- Underwood, *Kariye Djami* = P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I–IV (New York–Princeton, 1966–75)
- VA = The Life of St Andrew the Fool, *BHG* 115z
- Van de Vorst–Delehaye, *Catalogus* = C. Van de Vorst–H. Delehaye, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Germaniae, Belgiae, Angliae* [SubsHag, 13] (Brussels, 1913)
- VAnt = The Life of St Antony the Great, *BHG* 140
- Vantlun = The Life of St Antony the Younger, *BHG* 142
- Vasiliev, "Emperor Michael III" = A.A. Vasiliev, "The Emperor Michael III in Apocryphal Literature," *ByzMetabyz*, 1 (1946), 237–48
- Vassiliev, *Anecdota* = A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, I (Moscow, 1893)
- VBaslun = The Life of St Basil the Younger as contained in the Greek Ms no. 249 of the Synodal Library in Moscow and published piece by piece by S.G. Vilinskij in *Zapiski Imperatorskogo novorossijskogo universiteta* (Odessa, 1911), 283–326 (fols. 2–66); *ibid.*, 326–46 (fols. 351–378); by A.N. Veselovskij in



*Sbornik Otdela russkogoazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, 46 (St Petersburg, 1889), 6, suppl., 10–76 (fols. 66–147); *ibid.*, 53 (1891) 6, suppl., 3–174 (fols. 147<sup>v</sup>–351)

*VBasMac* = The Life of the Emperor Basil I, in *TheophCont*, 211–353

*VBlasAmor* = The Life of St Blasios of Amorion, *BHG* 278

*VConstJud* = The Life of St Constantine the Jew, *BHG* 370

*VCyrrillPhileot* = The Life of St Cyril Philotes, *BHG* 468

*VDanStyl* = The Life of St Daniel the Stylite, *BHG* 489

*VEpiphani* = The Life of St Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, *BHG* 596

*VEustrat* = The Life of St Eustratios of Agauros, *BHG* 645

*VEuthym* = The Life of St Euthymios the Great, *BHG* 648

*VEuthymPatrCP* = The Life of St Euthymios, Patriarch of Constantinople, *BHG* 651

*VEuthymSard*, ed. J. Gouillard† = The Life of St Euthymios of Sardis, *BHG* 2145, posthumous edition in *TM*, 10 (1987), 21–89

*VEvaristi* = The Life of St Evaristos of Stoudios, *BHG* 2153

*VGregAgrig* = The Life of St Gregory of Akragas, *BHG* 707

*VGregent* = The Life of St Gregentios, *BHG* 705

*VHilar* = The Life of St Hilarion, *BHG* 752

*VIgn* = The Life of St Ignatios, Patriarch of Constantinople, *BHG* 817

*VIoannic* = The Life of St Iannikios, *BHG* 936

*VIoEl* = The Life of St John the Merciful, *BHG* 886d

*VlrChrys* = The Life of St Irene of Chrysobalanton, *BHG* 952, in J.O. Rosenqvist, ed., *The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton* (Uppsala, 1986)

*VisCosm* = The Vision of the Monk Kosmas, *BHG* 2085

*VisDan* = The Vision of Daniel, *BHG* 1872

*VisDanHeb* = The Vision of Daniel in Hebrew; Eng. tr. in A. Sharf, “A Source for Byzantine Jewry under the Early Macedonians,” *BNJbb*, 20 (1970), 302–18, esp. 303–6

*VisDanSlav* = English translation of the *Slavonic Daniel* in Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 65–72

*VisDanUlt* = The Vision of Daniel, *BHG* 1873–4

*VizVrem* = *Vizantijskij Vremennik*

*VLazGal* = The Life of St Lazaros of Mount Galesios, *BHG* 979

*VLeoCat* = The Life of St Leo of Catania, *BHG* 981b

*VLeontHier* = *The Life of Leontios, Patriarch of Jerusalem*, ed. D. Tsougarakis (Leiden–New York–Köln, 1993)

*VLuclun* = The Life of St Luke the Younger, *BHG* 994; new ed. in D.Z. Sophianos, “Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς. Ὁ βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτου (Athens, 1989), 159–223

*VMacarRom* = The Life of St Makarios of Rome, *BHG* 1004

*VMichMal* = The Life of St Michael Maleinos, *BHG* 1295

*VMichSynk* = The Life of St Michael Synkellos, *BHG* 1296

*VNicolStud* = The Life of St Nicholas of Stoudios, *BHG* 1365

*VNikMet* = The Life of St Nikon “ho metanoeite”, in D.F. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brookline, Mass., 1987)

*VNil* = The Life of St Neilos of Rossano, *BHG* 1370

*VNiph* = The Life of St Niphon, Bishop of Constantianae in Egypt, *BHG* 1371z

## 20 *The Life of Andrew the Fool*

- Vogt, *Commentaire* = Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *Le livre des cérémonies*, 2 vols., ed. A. Vogt, with *Commentaire* (repr. Paris, 1967)
- VPetrAtr = The Life of St Peter of Atroa, *BHG* 2364
- VPetrAtrRetrCumMir = The Revised Life of St Peter of Atroa with Posthumous Miracles, *BHG* 2365
- VPhantlun = The Life of St Phantinos the Younger, *BHG* 2366z, ed. in Enrica Follieri, *La Vita di San Fantino il Giovane* [SubsHag, 77] (Brussels, 1993), 400–70
- VPhilar = The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful, *BHG* 1511z and 1512
- VPHypatii = The Life and Passion of St Hypatios Bishop of Gangra, *BHG* 759a
- VSablun = The Life of St Sabas the Younger, *BHG* 1611
- VSpyrid = The Life of St Spyridon Bishop of Trimithous on Cyprus, *BHG* 1647
- VStephlun = The Life of St Stephen the Younger, *BHG* 1666
- VSymNT = The Life of St Symeon the New Theologian, *BHG* 1692
- VSymSal = The Life of St Symeon the Fool, *BHG* 1677
- VTheoctLesb = The Life of St Theoctista of Lesbos, *BHG* 1724
- VTheodGrapt = The Life of St Theodore Graptos, *BHG* 1746
- VTheodSys = The Life of St Theodore of Sykeon, *BHG* 1748
- VTheodThess = The Life of St Theodora of Thessalonica, *BHG* 1738
- VTheophan = The Life of St Theophano the Empress, *BHG* 1794
- Walter, *Art and Ritual* = C. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London, 1982)
- Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei* = K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1934)
- Wilson, "Books and Readers" = N.G. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen. A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 1–15
- Wortley, "Warrior-Emperor" = J. Wortley, "The Warrior-Emperor of the Andrew Salos Apocalypse," *AB*, 88 (1970), 45–59
- Zepos, *Ius* = J. and P. Zepos, *Ius graecoromanum*, I–VIII (Athens, 1931)
- ZKirch = *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*

## Introduction



## Summary of the Text

- 3–8 Prologue.
- 9–231 Date and background. In the reign of Leo the Great a young Scythian boy called Andrew is brought to CP. Becoming the favourite slave of the protospatharios Theognostos he learns to read, to write, and to count (9–33). One night he dreams that he defeats the devil in single combat, whereupon Christ asks him to become a fool for his sake (34–88). He discusses the dream with the author (89–95). He commits his first foolish act, for which he is chained up in the church of St Anastasia (96–112). His decision to become a holy fool is supported by St Anastasia, St John the Apostle and the Heavenly King himself, who appear to him in three successive dreams (113–29, 130–75, 176–217). After four months he is released as incurable. He goes to see the author, the only person to whom he speaks without dissimulation (218–31).
- 232–370 Episodes illustrating Andrew's new way of life. He is mocked in a tavern. He predicts that the rogues who mocked and beat him will be caught by the night patrol (232–71). His privations and prayers (272–97). Prostitutes try to excite him. When he fails to respond they sell his garment, dressing him in an old sleeping-mat (298–340). Some people give him money. He passes it on to beggars, though awkwardly so that they strike him with their sticks (341–50). He unmasks a miser as he enters a tavern (351–70).
- 371–421 Andrew meets Epiphanius, whom he predicts will become Archbishop of CP. He abstains from food and drink, quenching his thirst from puddles. The author sees him floating in the air while praying.
- 422–737 A winter storm paralyses CP for two weeks. Andrew is near death but is revived by an angel who takes him to paradise and from there up through the firmament and heavens to the throne of God. Afterwards he goes to see the author, whom he tells what he has seen.
- 738–92 Andrew spends the nights praying in secret. In the daytime he plays the fool in the streets. The devil, assuming the shape of an old woman, denounces him as a robber, but he reveals the woman's true nature, making her disappear in the form of a serpent.
- 793–1216 Episodes connected with Epiphanius. Conversation between Andrew and Epiphanius, who is only 18 years old but perfectly virtuous and wise (793–815). Disputation between Epiphanius and some philosophers about the relation between the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit (816–57). Epiphanius tells Andrew how he has been attacked by



the devil in the garb of an Arab merchant (858–921). An angel cooks Epiphanius' bean-soup while he is in church (922–1000). Epiphanius takes Andrew to his father's house. Andrew rejects the gift of a friend of Epiphanius', explaining to Epiphanius that he is a eunuch and his master's lover (1001–99). For a moment, he turns one of Epiphanius' servants into a holy fool, talking to him in Syriac (1100–48). Invited to stay overnight he speaks in parables to Epiphanius' servants, using their own native languages. He makes them hear the racket of the demons (1149–216).

- 1217–90 Andrew mortifies himself and suffers hardships at the hands of the mob. He is beaten up because he relieves himself openly. He is run over by an ox-cart. He lies in the street, exposed to the heat of the sun, feigning to be drunk. At night he prays at the gates of the churches.
- 1291–498 A slave boy who happens to see Andrew open the doors of a church with the sign of the cross and float in the air while praying is forced to keep Andrew's secret (1291–346). Andrew is beaten up by a green-grocer for putting away his figs (1347–75). He is attacked by the devil, who accuses him of robbing him of sinners (1376–96). In a tavern he reveals two young men as thieves (1397–418). The devil threatens him, but Andrew throws his coat in the devil's face (1419–59). When one of the thieves from the tavern relapses into crime he becomes possessed by a demon; taking refuge in the Myrelaion church, he is cured by the Theotokos (1460–97).
- 1498–596 Andrew, seeing the demons mock the funeral procession of a rich sinner, talks to the man's guardian angel.
- 1597–790 Epiphanius sees Andrew transfigured. Andrew predicts that Epiphanius will become Archbishop of CP. He fights the demons operating among the attenders at church. God reveals to Epiphanius what Andrew is like in this life and in the kingdom of heaven.
- 1791–829 One night when Andrew falls into a pit he is rescued by Sts Peter and Paul. He predicts that their oratory will be transformed into a cathedral with five domes.
- 1830–58 In collaboration with Daniel the Stylite Andrew drives away the plague appearing in the form of an Ethiopian.
- 1859–918 In spite of Andrew's warnings a thief tries to steal the grave clothes of a dead young girl. Coming to life for a moment she strikes him with blindness.
- 1919–51 Andrew compares the soul of a fornicator with the snake-legged giants represented on the doors of the Senate at the Forum. He calls jewellery on display chaff and dust.
- 1952–2124 He sees the dragon of avarice coiling itself around the neck of a miserly monk while a white and a black eunuch contend for his soul. He makes the monk reform.
- 2125–42 Two wicked friends of Epiphanius'. One of them suffers hardship and reforms (2125–202). The other, continuing his way of life, dies a



gruesome death after a year (2203–322, 2381–401). In a dream Andrew demonstrates to Epiphanius the fate awaiting the souls of sinners in Hades (2323–380). Exhortations.

- 2425–647 A woman asks the magician Vigrinos to stop her husband from seeing prostitutes. He reforms, but the woman falls prey to the devil. When, on Epiphanius' advice, Vigrinos' magical tools are destroyed, the devil leaves the woman. Andrew explains to Epiphanius how the magic worked.
- 2648–73 Andrew's vision of the Prophet David in St Sophia on a Palm Sunday. He argues with learned men on the meaning of Ps. 132:1–16.
- 2674–713 He ridicules a miserly rich man. He kicks and runs like an ass, comparing himself to the foal that carried Jesus.
- 2714–892 Three stories on the topic of sexuality: haunted by sexual dreams, Epiphanius eats salt to quench his desire (2714–82); a friend of Epiphanius', an adulterous deacon, dies a horrifying death (2782–868); Andrew warns a courtier not to make love to his wife on Sundays (2869–92).
- 2893–3460 Conversation between Andrew and Epiphanius in the form of *erot-apokriseis*. Half the number of Epiphanius' questions concern various biblical passages, while the other half are concerned with other topics: the nature of the soul, the creation, the relation between Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, with God, Christ, the heavens, the rain, the lightning and thunder, the difference between demons and angels, and with the present situation of the souls of the righteous dead.
- 3461–558 The shameful death of a wicked man who blasphemed against the icon of St Thyrsos.
- 3559–614 A pious woman called Barbara has a vision in which Andrew appears like a column of fire, while demons put signs on those who mock and beat him; when he removes the signs a bird comes down from heaven, rewarding him for his mercy.
- 3615–731 The Martyr Akakios helps Epiphanius overcome his sexual temptations.
- 3732–58 The vision of the Mother of God at Blachernae: during a nocturnal doxology in the Holy Casket Andrew shows Epiphanius how the Mother of God stretches out her veil over the congregation.
- 3759–804 Andrew denounces a record-keeper of the fleet as an adulterer and predicts his imminent death. When he lies dying, Andrew sees an angel flogging him with a rod.
- 3805–4364 Andrew spends the last week of his life in Epiphanius' father's house. He answers Epiphanius' questions about the end of the world with a captivating description of the reigns of the last emperors and rulers of Byzantium, among them a wicked woman, the disappearance of CP into the sea, the gathering together of the Jews in Jerusalem, the translation of the power to Rome, Syllaion and Thessalonica, the letting loose of the filthy nations, the coming of the Antichrist, the martyrrium

of Elijah, Enoch and the Son of Thunder, the Lord's victory and the Resurrection (3805–4131). When Epiphanius reads an oration by St Basil to Andrew, he notices a wonderful fragrance. Andrew explains that it comes from God, and is conveyed by angels (4132–95). He tells the story of the Martyr Theodore of Antioch, which shows that angels transform the pain of those who fight for the sake of Christ into pleasure (4196–264). During a last meal he talks to Epiphanius, with Nikephoros as a passive listener, about the Godhead and the extension of the universe. He predicts that Epiphanius will become a monk and eventually Archbishop of CP, even a confessor and a saint (4265–364).

- 4365–87 Leaving Epiphanius' house Andrew spends his last night in prayers, whereupon he lies down and dies. His body disappears miraculously.
- 4388–91 Andrew died 28 May after 66 years of secret struggle.
- 4392–400 The author introduces himself. Conclusion.

## The Composition

In relation to the size, originality and rich contents of *VA* the prologue is remarkably short and empty. Nikephoros does not try to summarize the *Vita*, which would have been difficult, nor explain how he came to know Andrew or defend him against possible critics or apologize for the shocking character of some of the episodes awaiting the reader, as Leontios of Neapolis had done in his proem to *VSymSal*. The prologue is just a *captatio benevolentiae*. In the main it consists of stock phrases (cf. note ad loc.), although the address *μεγαλόψυχοι* and the words *ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα μελίρρυτον, εὐωδίαν ἀποστάζον καὶ ἡδονὴν θαυμαστήν*, possibly reflecting Nikephoros' awareness of his lack of education on the one hand and his own enthusiasm for the subject on the other, strike me as unusual. Presumably all this means that Nikephoros, unlike Leontios, did not regard the topic of foolishness for the sake of Christ as controversial, at least not in this historical setting.<sup>1</sup>

The epilogue is also short, although more substantial. Here Nikephoros introduces himself, mentions his sources and tells how long Andrew lived and what month and day he died. The fact that he does not compare Andrew with other saints, not even with Symeon Salos, goes well with the artificial character of his portrait.

The first part of the *Vita* proper has a chronological pattern. There is a gradual development from Andrew's arrival in Theognostos' house to his release from the imprisonment in the church of St Anastasia. When he begins to play the fool in the streets and squares of CP, however, the chronological grip is loosened, and after the fourth morning following his release (line 278) it is lost altogether. Then episodes, visions and conversations follow one upon the other more or less haphazardly, although traces of order may be detected here and there. Thus the presentation of Andrew's close friend and disciple Epiphanius (371ff.) comes early, as expected, while the *erotapokriseis* (2893–3452) come rather late, which seems equally appro-

---

<sup>1</sup> Note that, if there was good reason, the prologue could be omitted altogether, as e.g. the original *VPhilar*, BHG 1511z, as well as *VIrChrys* and the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellus show.



priate. Andrew's conversation with the author on paradise and heaven at the beginning (488–737) may be said to counterbalance his eschatological conversation with Epiphanius towards the end (3805–4127) and is surrounded by harrowing descriptions of his desolation and suffering, which enhance the effect of the heavenly visions. The weeping of the Mother of God in the vision at Blachernae (3732–58) seems to forebode the end of CP as described in the eschatological conversation. With this conversation, which takes place two days before the saint's death, the chronological thread is taken up again and kept until the end. Thus the hagiographical form of VA consists of a chronologically structured beginning and end which enclose and keep together a vast number of episodes of various length and character following one upon another in associative rather than chronological order. In principle, this form is not new; what is new is the proportions and the variety of subjects treated.

A characteristic feature in VA is that Andrew, the principal character, is often kept in the background, Epiphanius, the son of wealthy parents, and his friends coming into focus instead. This gives Nikephoros the opportunity to vary the setting, which otherwise would have been limited to the streets and squares. Another distinctive feature is the conversations between Andrew and Epiphanius, which occupy a considerable part of the Vita. In these conversations Andrew explains a great variety of questions to Epiphanius, who serves as his interlocutor and listener.

As Epiphanius is Andrew's pupil and knows his secret, one might have expected the authorship of the Vita to be attributed to him. But as he is also supposed to be a historical person, identical with the Epiphanius who was patriarch of CP 520–35 (see lines 384f., 1610–24, 4325–7, 4397), who is not known to have been a writer, Nikephoros may have been reluctant to credit him with the authorship of a text of this kind.

Instead Nikephoros introduces himself as another intimate friend of Andrew's, pretending that he wrote VA partly on the basis of his own friendship with the holy man, partly on the basis of material offered him by Epiphanius (4396–8). From the point of view of strict order this would seem to be a somewhat unsatisfactory arrangement, since it forces Nikephoros to assign the role of the "témoin bien informé"<sup>2</sup> to two different persons. He complicates matters further by failing to explain the relationship between himself and Epiphanius, which remains obscure.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Delehay, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (repr. Brussels, 1966), 182f.

However, this is not the only time Nikephoros plays with variations of the same theme. There are several other cases. For example, Epiphanius is predicted to become archbishop of CP on three different occasions (384f., 1610–24, 4325–7). He is twice tempted by the devil to commit fornication (2714ff., 3615ff.). In the *erotapokriseis* he once asks Andrew a question which he himself has already answered in his disputation with the “philosophers” (cf. 3015ff. with 821ff.). The question of the nature of the air which is above God is raised both in the *erotapokriseis* (3069ff.) and in the last conversation between Andrew and Epiphanius, although with the variation that in the latter instance Andrew speaks of the air that is above the firmament (4294ff.). Furthermore there are two descriptions of heaven in VA, the first in connection with the winter storm (422ff.), when Andrew’s soul leaves CP and makes a journey on its own, the second in connection with Epiphanius’ dream about Andrew (1687ff.); Nikephoros does not explain, however, why the heavenly kingdom Epiphanius visits in his dream is so different from what Andrew saw during the spiritual journey of his soul. Another remarkable fact is that Epiphanius, who is a model of virtue himself, has four wicked friends of which three are very similar, one anonymous (1033ff.), the other two called John (2203ff.) and Raphael (2782ff.). The courtier whom Andrew warns not to have intercourse on Sundays (2869ff.) and the record-keeper of the fleet whom he accuses of being a fornicator (3762ff.) are also similar, and so are the circumstances in which Andrew is said to have met them. A further repetitive feature is that VA contains no fewer than four descriptions of sinners dying in agony, namely lines 2381ff. (John), 2782–826 (Raphael), 3485ff. (the blasphemer) and 3770ff. (the record-keeper of the fleet); in addition, according to 2888f. the courtier will share their fate, if he does not reform. As a last example one may mention the demons who dance and sing around the blasphemer because they know that he is going to die the following day and thus soon be theirs (3466ff.): by and large they repeat the dancing and singing of the Ethiopians which take place around the funeral procession of the rich man (1502ff.). Thus in some cases the repetitions illustrate the uncertainty of our knowledge of the heavenly world, while in others they underline the author’s moral message.

Compared with VA, the Life of Andrew’s model, Symeon Salos, is a well-proportioned piece of hagiography. In the modern edition the prologue occupies three pages, the story of Symeon’s renunciation of the world and his stay for three decades in the desert 21 pages, the description of his life as a holy fool at Emesa 24 pages, and the epilogue, in which he is compared with other holy men, two pages. Thus *VSymSal* consists of four distinct, well-balanced parts, and few episodes are repetitious. The author’s



intention is clear. By writing *VSymSal* he wants to praise Symeon and explain, motivate and illustrate his way of life. *VA* on the other hand is, as we have seen, neither well-proportioned nor tightly structured, nor is Andrew in focus all the time. It is also worth noting that whereas the anecdotes about Symeon at Emesa are short and concentrated, the episodes contained in *VA* are of many various kinds and often spread over many pages, tending to take on a life of their own. The portrait of Andrew does not seem to be Nikephoros' only or even his main concern, his real intention remaining unexpressed. It has been suggested therefore that in its present shape *VA* may not be all of a piece but represent "a literary re-working of an older and more straightforward text or conflation of several texts."<sup>3</sup> To me this hypothesis seems unlikely, especially in the absence of any indication that Andrew was known before Nikephoros wrote about him. It is even unnecessary, for there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that *VA* with all its peculiarities represents a literary conception as distinct as that of *VSymSal*. It is the concept of episodic composition, in which the parts are more important than the whole and the microstructures more carefully elaborated than the macrostructure, a fact to which the manuscript tradition bears ample witness. Unlike Leontios of Neapolis Nikephoros does not try to integrate strange, disturbing material into a harmonious overall structure. On the contrary, his ambition is to use a holy fool as a vehicle for presenting as many *exempla* and treating as many apocalyptic and apocryphic topics as possible. And, it should be added, he treats them very well. To mention a few examples: the four dreams at the beginning which make Andrew aware of his vocation, his visit to paradise and heaven, his vision of the Mother of God at Blachernae, and his tale of the end of the world are all impressive and exciting pieces of literature, testifying to the author's ability to vary, expand and visualize his narrative material. This ability becomes particularly evident in the cases in which one can compare Nikephoros' account with his sources. His eschatological panorama is far more imaginative and tightly structured than the apocalypses on which he relied for his material, and his story of the Martyr Theodore far more detailed and visual than the versions found in the Church Fathers and the *SynaxCP*; the same applies to the story of the grave robber, which is evidently based on two similar stories in the *PratSpir* by John Moschos.

A critic may perhaps say that the composition of *VA* reflects the difficul-

<sup>3</sup> Mango, "Life Reconsidered", 298. Also Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 600f., fails to see the composition of *VA* as a result of literary creativity; according to him it is no more than an incongruous mixture of pieces of various age and character.

ty of presenting an edifying material of encyclopedic dimensions in the form of a saint's Life, but as soon as one accepts the idea of episodic composition this criticism becomes irrelevant. As already mentioned, this kind of composition is not new in hagiography. It exists also in *VSymSal*, although there it is imbedded in a more elaborate total structure. The difference is that in *VA* the possibilities of the episodic composition have been exploited to the full instead of being bridled by a strong narrative framework.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Although *VA* is not the work of a chronicler or an historian, two recent studies in Byzantine historiography help to explain its literary form: J.N. Ljubarskij, "Man in Byzantine Historiography from John Malalas to Michael Psellos," *DOP*, 46 (1992), 177–86, and D.E. Afinogenov, "Some Observations on Genres of Byzantine Historiography," *Byzantion*, 62 (1992), 13–33. Ljubarskij brings out the asyndetic, paratactic and additive character of early historiography, while Afinogenov, among many pertinent observations, points out that George the Monk used the chronicle as a way of organizing an immense quantity of heterogeneous fragments. Both observations are, *mutatis mutandis*, relevant to the paratactic, repetitive way in which Nikephoros presents his material within the framework of a saint's Life.

## The Portrait of Andrew

In a saint's Life one looks in vain for character analysis and careful descriptions of physical appearance, and VA is no exception to this rule. Nikephoros would have broken no law of the genre, however, if he had given us some information about Andrew's parents, his place of birth and the circumstances under which he came to CP. Nevertheless he omits all such material and limits himself to telling in a short paragraph that Andrew was a slave of Scythian origin and that he was brought up and sent to school by his master, who made him his secretary as soon as he had learnt to read, to write, and to count. Having thus finished the story of Andrew's background as quickly as possible, he gives a detailed account of the dreams and visions that unexpectedly transformed Andrew into a holy fool. At the outset one notices that there is something passive about this holy man. Things happen to him. He takes no initiative, except that he devours edifying books.

To judge from the context, the transformation happened when Andrew was still quite young. Then time ceases to pass, as it does in ancient romances. Andrew no longer develops, grows older, or otherwise becomes subject to changing circumstances. When he dies he is said to have struggled secretly for 66 years. It is not quite clear whether this means that he died at the age of 66 or whether the number refers only to the length of time he spent as a holy fool, so that we should think that he was over 80 when he died. It is futile, however, to ask whether the former or the latter is correct. 66 is just a number, perhaps chosen because the number 66 was believed to be perfect.<sup>1</sup> Nowhere does Nikephoros indicate that Andrew lived either before or after the reign of Leo the Great, i.e. Leo I (457–74). Andrew's good friend Epiphanius is supposed to be the future patriarch (520–35),<sup>2</sup> and consequently to have survived him by many years. In the post-

---

<sup>1</sup> See the references in note ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Is it true that Andrew predicts that Epiphanius, following the custom, will change his name when he takes the vows (line 4325). Nevertheless I find it hard to believe that Nikephoros does not refer to the Patriarch Epiphanius who lived in the 6th century, although he confuses the issue, as in many other cases. Since little seems to have been known of this patriarch, an author of historical fiction located in fifth–sixth century CP must have found his name useful.



script Nikephoros himself, Andrew's second good friend, indicates that he in turn survived Epiphanius. Yet he wants us to believe that he knew Andrew even before he became a holy fool. He also says that Epiphanius made Andrew's acquaintance soon after Andrew had been released from the church of St Anastasia, although when Andrew died Epiphanius was still a layman and his father still alive (line 4322f.). All this means that Andrew lacks the chronological dimension of a historical person. His portrait is flat.

Moreover, in their last conversation Andrew says that Epiphanius will never see him again, "not even in spirit" (4320). In accordance with this prediction Andrew's body disappears miraculously after his death, like the bodies of the fictitious Theoktiste of Lesbos and the legendary Symeon Salos.<sup>3</sup> Nikephoros does not report any posthumous miracle, nor does he invoke Andrew's spirit, although many Lives of the period in which I believe VA was written end with an invocation of their heroes, nor does he say anything that corresponds to what Leontios of Neapolis says in the epilogue of *VSymSal*, namely that Symeon is now in heaven, standing before God's throne, having his ear, and singing his praise together with the angels. He just gives Andrew the epithet ἐν ἁγίοις 'blessed' (4395f.) and says that his life is πολυθρύλλητος 'much-spoken of' (4395), which I regard as purely conventional expressions, void of real significance. Thus, despite his repeated insistence on being an eyewitness Nikephoros does little to confirm that Andrew existed in real life.

In this respect, as in many others, VA differs from *VSymSal*. Leontios certainly regarded Symeon as a historical person, although his material was legendary and his biographical method not that of a historian. His source or sources consisted of a number of anecdotes of the kind we find in Evagrius' *Ecclesiastical History*,<sup>4</sup> to which some anecdotes originally connected with other θεῖοι ἄνδρες seem to have been added. He structured this formless material by providing it with a biographical frame in which he asserted that Symeon, who came from Edessa, had received a Greek education, by writing a prologue in which he prepared the reader for the Vita proper, telling him how he should understand Symeon's behaviour, and by adding an epi-

<sup>3</sup> *VTheoctLesb*, ed. Delehay, ch. 21; *VSymSal*, ed. Rydén, 168,26f. In all three cases I think the hagiographer wants to explain why the saint has no tomb and left no relic. This does not exclude other interpretations of the disappearance of the holy fool's body. Dagron, "L'homme sans honneur", 934, makes the fine observation that during his life the holy fool is just body, and an idea of his real life is not formed until his death; the ordinary saint, on the other hand, endeavours to live a bodiless life, although after his death his body becomes a relic.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Bidez-Parmentier (London, 1898), 182,26-184,5.

logue in which he drew his attention to the moral of the story. In the prologue he says that Symeon was an imitator of Christ, and in accordance with this remark he partly patterns Symeon's life upon that of Christ.<sup>5</sup> Thus *VSymSal* is the result of an attempt at complementing and interpreting an already existing but fragmentary hagiographic dossier. There is no other noticeable purpose of the *Vita*. It is further worth noting that, unlike Nikephoros, Leontios does not pretend to have known Symeon personally. According to himself he is entirely relying on a "témoin bien informé".<sup>6</sup>

Nikephoros' situation was different. He was interested in arcane matters, such as the fate of the soul, the nature of paradise, heaven and Hades, the future of CP and the end of the world. Apparently he wanted to answer questions that caught the fancy of many people, although they were neglected by official theology. For that purpose he needed a mouthpiece. Who could be better suited than the holy fool, the incarnate opposite of human wisdom? Gregory, the author of *VBasilun*, says that when he woke up from his great vision of the Last Judgment he seemed to those who saw him to have gone out of his senses and to be mad and demented because he was under the spell of what he had seen.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, a holy fool could be conceived of as a saint appearing to be mad because he was overwhelmed by too much insight into the divine. Moreover, a person who appeared to be mad could also be supposed to have insight into the world of the demons. This gave Nikephoros plenty of opportunity to reveal the operations of the devil and his company. The combination of wisdom and foolishness had many advantages.

Nikephoros did not choose any existing holy fool as his mouthpiece. Instead he created a new one, whom he could place in CP and name and date as he wished. The date was probably chosen to fit the apocalypse, although the general interest in the Early Byzantine epoch typical of the Macedonian period may also have contributed (see further below). With regard to the name our point of departure should probably be the fact that Andrew is said to have been a Scythian (line 15) and assume that Nikephoros considered Andrew to be an appropriate name for a person of this origin, thinking of people like Ἀνδρέας ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐκ Σκυθῶν,<sup>8</sup> the well-known general serving under Basil I and Leo VI.

<sup>5</sup> See L. Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Uppsala, 1970), 85–7. This aspect has been further developed in Krueger, *Cynics, Christians, and Holy Fools*, 202ff. For a penetrating analysis of *VSymSal* as well as of Leontios' work as a whole, see now V. Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis* (Uppsala, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Rydén, 125, 16–24.

<sup>7</sup> *VBasilun*, fol. 351, ed. Vilinskij, 326.

<sup>8</sup> *TheophCont*, Bonn ed. (1838), 284, 9f.



Nikephoros says that Andrew was poor, naked and homeless (430–2), that he fasted (394ff., 1224f., 1457), kept vigil (740f., 1457) and prayed without interruption (290–7); further that he was immune to sexual stimulation (308–12) as well as indifferent to heat (1281–4) and cold (1219f.). He thus presents Andrew as an exemplary ascetic, thereby giving him a moral alibi for his foolish behaviour. The latter is exemplified in various ways. Nikephoros says that Andrew tore his tunic to pieces (98f.), talked nonsense (99f., 237) or in riddles (1053, 1873–7, 1937), made funny replies (339f., 2677–84, 2710), stood staring (1922ff.), ran and danced (1920f., 2707) or danced and murmured (2675f.), played with coins (347), grabbed food shamelessly (1404f.), drank sewage (401–3), relieved himself openly (1241–3), behaved indecently (3760), feigned that he was drunk (743, 1282), kissed the feet of the man who beat him (1250–3) etc. Nikephoros' general terms for this behaviour are παίζειν, ἐμπαίζειν τὸν κόσμον, τὰ συνήθη πράττειν, τὰ διὰ Χριστὸν ἔθη ποιεῖν, and the like.

Some of these manifestations of foolishness are reminiscent of Symeon Salos, who is likewise said to have exposed himself to sexual temptation, to have danced, and to have relieved himself openly. Such similarities are superficial, however, as J. Grosdidier de Matons has shown.<sup>9</sup> The differences are more important. To begin with Andrew is not an imitator of Christ, although on one occasion Nikephoros has Epiphanius remark that what Andrew performs is similar to what happened when Christ lived on earth (1684–6). It is true that, like Symeon, he sometimes makes sinners repent and renounce Satan (1164–6, 1381ff., 1915–18), but according to himself this is not his real vocation (1182–4). His decision to become a fool was made not in order to save others but for two rather selfish reasons, one being that this was the only way in which he could escape his master (94f.), the other that if he became a fool for the sake of Christ he would enjoy many good things in the heavenly kingdom (86f.). Moreover, far from being the last step in a long spiritual development his decision was the sudden result of a dream. To his master and fellow servants the change in his state of mind was as incomprehensible as a miracle. Significantly, Nikephoros does not quote 1 Cor. 1:25, 3:18 and 4:10, to which Leontios refers in his prologue. Instead he says that Andrew imitated "the admirable Symeon of old" (223f.), thus indicating that he was an epigone.

According to Leontios, Symeon played his role as a fool very seriously. Sometimes he pretended to be lame, sometimes he jumped and bounced, sometimes he dragged himself along on his buttocks. At the time of the

<sup>9</sup> Grosdidier de Matons, "Thèmes", 305.

new moon he stared at the sky and fell to the ground, trembling like an epileptic. As Grosdidier de Matons points out<sup>10</sup> there is nothing like this in *VA*. Nor does Andrew do anything as provocative as Symeon did when he misbehaved outrageously at church, ate blasphemously on Maundy Thursday, or danced with the show-girls at the theatre. It may therefore not be fortuitous that in *VSymSal* the word ἀσχημοσύνη ‘disgraceful appearance, disgraceful behaviour’ is used of Symeon himself, whereas in *VA* it refers to the demon of fornication.<sup>11</sup> Naturally Symeon had to suffer for his most provocative acts, but in general he was accepted and treated with tolerance. Andrew, on the other hand, who is much less actively offensive, is treated very badly. People slap him on his neck, push him and spit at him (1939f.). Young boys even amuse themselves by smearing ink made from charcoal on his face, putting a rope around his neck and dragging him along (1220–3).<sup>12</sup> Usually they assume that he is possessed by a demon or an evil spirit (262–5, 328f., 1274f., 1653f.), but there are also those who think that he suffers from epilepsy (1257) or has fallen victim to magic arts (1256f., 1656f.).

Symeon used to denounce sinners by crying out loudly what he knew about them, like a demoniac.<sup>13</sup> This is alien to Andrew, who prefers to talk in private. Nor does he convert heretics and Jews, or make people squint or paralyse them in order to prevent them from sinning, as Symeon did. Another difference is that Andrew, unlike Symeon, does not produce food miraculously or perform other miracles in order to help people in a drastic way. Nor does he heal the sick or expel demons, as Symeon sometimes did.

This is not to say that Andrew is incapable of accomplishing wonders. His miracles are different, however, for they either serve the purpose of demonstrating his holiness, as when he is seen opening the doors of a church with the sign of the cross (1301–3) or floating in the air while praying (416f., 1314f.), or they serve the purpose of reminding people of the invisible world of the angels and demons, as when he shows Satan in the guise of an Ethiopian to the greedy monk (2088–93). Thus whereas Symeon concentrated on playing the fool by performing strange miracles

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *VSymSal*, ed. Rydén, 148,13 with *VA* 327.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Grosdidier de Matons, “Thèmes”, 304: “à l’inverse de ce qu’on a observé dans la *Vie de Syméon*, la folie peu agressive d’André forme un contraste surprenant avec la cruauté des habitants de Constantinople.” Cf. the vision of the Last Judgment, *VBasJun*, fol. 231, ed. Veselovskij, 75, in which the holy fools are rewarded for their patient endurance rather than for their acts.

<sup>13</sup> Leontios’ term for this is διαλαλεῖν ‘proclaim’, a verb not occurring in *VA*.



and mocking the world, Andrew combines scattered elements of Symeon's behaviour with the qualities of a visionary, prophet and moralist. In this respect Andrew is a more immediate forerunner of the Russian holy fools than Symeon.

The peculiar and unrealistic portrait of Andrew is complemented by the more lifelike characterization of Epiphanius. Whereas the former is a stranger and an outcast provided with supernatural gifts but having no sins, the latter is a normal young man who is susceptible to sexual temptations which he, unlike Andrew, cannot resist without struggle.<sup>14</sup> He has no supernatural gifts; instead he is rich, well-mannered and respected. In other words, he is a character with whom the reader may identify and try to imitate. From this point of view he, rather than Andrew, is the hero of VA.<sup>15</sup> Yet, as already indicated, the real subject of the Vita is neither of these two but the invisible world of good and evil,<sup>16</sup> which is made visible to us with their help.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Epiphanius: 2714ff., 3615ff.; Andrew: 298ff. The prostitutes try in vain to seduce Andrew. Their failure is all the more remarkable as he is still young and in the very beginning of his ascetic career, as Grosdidier de Matons, *op. cit.*, 310 observes.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, 311ff.

<sup>16</sup> I have borrowed this useful expression from Mango, *Byzantium*, 151.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde", 210, who defines VA as well as *VBasileus* and *ApocAnastasiae* as "une reprise hagiographique de thèmes apocalyptiques." To this group of texts I also reckon *VNiph.*



## The Chronological Fiction

As we have seen, Nikephoros dates Andrew to the reign of Leo I (457–74) and most probably refers to Epiphanius as the future patriarch (520–35). He also pretends that he knew both Andrew and Epiphanius (lines 89, 225, 408–21, 731, 1787–90, 3552f., 3788, 3802f., 4129, 4277f., 4396–8). Accordingly, he wants us to believe that *VA* is based partly on what he saw himself and partly on information given to him by Epiphanius, “who was patriarch here” (4397). *VA* is thus supposed to be written soon after 535.

In order not to contradict this chronological system Nikephoros avoids mentioning emperors, saints and other people living after the alleged lifetime of Andrew. The only exception to this rule is a passage in which he says that Andrew “ran his race ..., playing in the manner of the admirable Symeon of old” (223f.), which is anachronistic since Symeon Salos lived in the 6th century, i.e. later than Andrew, and was not a man “of old” at the time Nikephoros pretends to be writing. As to literary sources he only mentions authors who lived earlier than Andrew, i.e. Sts Hippolytus (4013), Athanasios (839) and Basil the Great (4133). As P.J. Alexander observed,<sup>1</sup> he thus pretends to be writing against the literary background of the 5th century. He also tries to avoid mentioning buildings and other topographical features if they are known to be late, although in this respect he appears to have been less consistent.

Had he wished to support the chronology of the *Vita* more actively Nikephoros could easily have mentioned quite a number of persons, events and circumstances associated with Leo’s reign.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless he fails to do so, with two exceptions. The first is an episode in which Andrew, falling into an ecstasy, is transported to St Daniel the Stylite (d. 493), who was standing on his pillar at Anaplous and whom, Nikephoros says, the Emperor Leo and his wife used to visit (1844–8). The second, less obvious, is Andrew’s vision of the Virgin’s *maphorion* in the Holy Soros or Casket at Blachernae (3732–58), which also suits the reign of Leo I, since according

---

<sup>1</sup> Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mango, “Life Reconsidered”, 299; Rydén, “Date”, 135.

to tradition it was in his day that the *maphorion* was discovered and deposited in the Holy Soros, built especially for this purpose.<sup>3</sup>

Rather than to revive the particular atmosphere of the reign of Leo I Nikephoros seems to have had the ambition to give his story an Early Byzantine or at least pre-iconoclastic flavour. Merely by choosing a holy fool as his mouthpiece he alludes to the Early Byzantine period, since this was the golden age of the *saloi*. During this period the holy fool was a tolerated part of society, whereas later the Church became intolerant of this kind of asceticism, as appears from canon 60 of the Council in Trullo.<sup>4</sup> As already indicated, Nikephoros' description of Andrew is sometimes evocative of Leontios' portrait of Symeon Salos, as when he says that Andrew παίζει and σώσσει,<sup>5</sup> or that he relieves himself openly.<sup>6</sup> However, when Andrew speaks Syriac with a servant of Epiphanius' (1105–7) this not only reminds the reader of Symeon Salos, whose mother tongue was Syriac, but also of the time when the Syriac-speaking East still belonged to the Empire. Furthermore, one of the episodes takes place in a tavern, an establishment for which Nikephoros uses the Early Byzantine term φουσκάρτιον, which he appears to have misunderstood (235, 243).<sup>7</sup> On another occasion Andrew is dragged into a brothel (298ff.). As C. Mango has pointed out,<sup>8</sup> this means that everyday life goes on in public, which is typical of the Early rather than the Middle Byzantine period. The same scholar has also observed<sup>9</sup> that the tremissis mentioned line 2465 would make little sense after the reign of Leo III, when fractional gold ceased to be issued. The discussion between Epiphanius and the philosophers line 820ff. with its extremely artificial, partly incomprehensible language seems to be intended to give the illusion of an Early Byzantine theological disputation. Last but not least, if I am not mistaken, Nikephoros wrote the Vita in majuscule letters—see below on codex A—, thus intimating that it had been written before the introduction of the minuscule script.

On the other hand, much of what was important in the 5th–6th centuries is missing, as for instance the mimes and pantomimes, the baths,<sup>10</sup> and the

<sup>3</sup> Janin, *Églises*, 161.

<sup>4</sup> See Rhalles–Potles, *Syntagma*, II, 440f., or, more conveniently, PG 137, 716CD.

<sup>5</sup> Note, however, that Leontios uses three verbs for 'dance', namely βαλλίζω, σώσσω and χορεύω, Nikephoros only one, σώσσω.

<sup>6</sup> VA 1241f., VSymSal 148, 14–16.

<sup>7</sup> See Rydén, "Style", 178f.

<sup>8</sup> Mango, "Life Reconsidered", 310.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, 301f.

<sup>10</sup> No bath is mentioned in VA. The scene mentioned by Mango, "Life Reconsidered", 310 takes place in a public place, not in a public bath (see line 2206f.).

circus factions, while that which is actually mentioned is often imprecise, badly integrated, or even incorrect, as in the case of the *φουσκάριον*. It is clear that Nikephoros confines himself to offering chronological *spolia* rather than trying to integrate Andrew into a real historical context. This is of course exactly what one might expect of a Byzantine author, but it should be added that from a literary point of view VA thus becomes more rather than less exciting. In any case he complicates matters further by failing to mention the Persians, although he predicts the defeat of the Arabs (3833–8), which presupposes the Arab conquests of the 7th century. Very puzzling is Andrew's remark that "the seven aeons of this world, measured by years, have not yet been completed" (2961–3), for if he lived under Leo I the 7th aeon had not yet begun. Moreover, when Nikephoros speaks of Symeon Salos as a man "of old" he is looking at Symeon from the vantage point of a man living long after the 6th century. Similarly, when he writes that the people of CP used to say (*ἔφασκον*) that the oratory of Peter and Paul had been built by Constantine the Great (1795) Nikephoros betrays the chronological fiction with regard both to the date of Andrew and the date of composition of his *Life*. This leads us to the question of the real date of composition.



## The Date of Composition

In the course of time many various dates have been suggested for the composition of *VA*. In 1978 I published a paper in which I argued for the 6th decade of the 10th century.<sup>1</sup> Four years later my paper was criticized by Professor Cyril Mango who suggested the latter 7th century as a more likely date of composition.<sup>2</sup> In a second paper published in 1983 I tried to corroborate my view.<sup>3</sup> Since opinions are still divided in this matter, the whole question must be examined anew. The fact that the following examination in part takes the form of a refutation of Mango's arguments should not conceal the fact that I have found his article stimulating and thought-provoking.

As *terminus post quem* for the composition of *VA* Mango suggests *c.* 650, mainly on the ground that a passage in *PratSpir* by which Nikephoros was influenced (see lines 1859–918, with note 1) seems to have been added to John Moschos' work after his death, which probably occurred in 634.<sup>4</sup> Although this is a hypothetical argument, the *terminus* as such makes good sense, for it is supported by Andrew's prediction that Egypt will pay its tributes (3839), a prediction that is meaningless before the Arab conquest. As *terminus ante quem* Mango suggests *c.* 950, which in his view is the approximate date of the majuscule fragment (A), the earliest known MS of *VA*.<sup>5</sup> This is a more doubtful *terminus*, however, for while it seems unlikely that this MS was written before *c.* 950 it is impossible to maintain on palaeographical grounds alone that it cannot have been written somewhat later, perhaps as late as the beginning of the 11th century. I would therefore say that *c.* 950 is the *terminus post quem* of the oldest MS, whereas the *terminus ante quem* of *VA* itself is *c.* 1000.

While it is easy to demonstrate that *VA* cannot have been composed before *c.* 650 and after *c.* 1000 it is difficult to tell exactly at what point between these two extremes it was actually written. To begin with, was it written before, during or after the age of Iconoclasm?

---

<sup>1</sup> Rydén, "Date", with a list of the dates suggested so far in note 6.

<sup>2</sup> Mango, "Life Reconsidered".

<sup>3</sup> Rydén, "Basil the Younger".

<sup>4</sup> Mango, "Life Reconsidered", 298f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*.

That it was written during Iconoclasm seems utterly unlikely. In VA icons are not a matter of controversy. They are taken for granted. It is true that an icon of St Thyrsos is once called inanimate and senseless and said to be as powerless as a wall (3535–7), which sounds like a reminiscence of iconoclast phraseology.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the blasphemy does not come from an iconoclast but from a man whose dislike of icons is only one of many aspects of his completely wicked character. According to his wife he would not take part in any kind of Christian worship: “From the day I married him he never went to church, he neither prayed, nor made the sign of the cross on his forehead, nor even received the Eucharist but went away to spend the night in the brothels” (3507–10). If this episode contains any chronological clue it is that VA was written long after icon worship had ceased to be a moot question in Byzantine religious life.<sup>7</sup>

But before examining whether this is probable, let us also consider the possibility that VA was written *before* the outbreak of Iconoclasm. This is the alternative favoured by Mango, according to whom (1) VA belongs to the pre-iconoclastic tradition of hagiography and (2) the titles and (3) the coins appearing in it correspond to what we may expect in the period between the middle of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century. This also applies to (4) the picture of urban life provided by VA, which Mango would describe as one of Late Antique customs in decay. At first he attributed VA to the end of this period<sup>8</sup> but later to c. 680–95,<sup>9</sup> observing (5) that the extremely moralistic tone of VA seems to reflect the spirit of the Quinisext Council, (6) that the absence of any sign of an immediate Arab threat fits the period of respite for the Empire following upon the Arab failure of 674–8, and (7) that a certain apocalypse of Daniel which he dates to 716/17 offers many points of convergence with the apocalypse of Andrew the Fool. None of these arguments, however, is conclusive. Let us look at them one by one.

<sup>6</sup> Compare VA 3535–7, where the blasphemer refuses to venerate the icon of St Thyrsos on the ground that it is as *ἄψυχος* and *ἀναίσθητος* as the material on which it is painted, with *VBasilun* (10th century), fol. 287<sup>v</sup>, where the iconoclasts defend themselves at the Last Judgment with the argument that *ἄψυχον εἰκόνα καὶ νεκρὰν μὴτε ὁμιλοῦσαν μὴδὲ αἰσθανομένην οὔτε τιμὰν δέον ἦν, οὔτε προσκυνεῖν*. Two further examples are quoted in the note ad loc.

<sup>7</sup> It is true that P. Schreiner, “Der byzantinische Bilderstreit: kritische Analyse der zeitgenössischen Meinungen und das Urteil der Nachwelt bis heute,” in *Bisanzio, Roma e l’Italia nell’alto medioevo 3–9 aprile 1986 = SettStu*, 34 (Spoleto, 1988), 319–407, esp. 319f., with note 3, uses this episode as an argument in favour of Mango’s dating, but as it is based on the mistaken idea that Andrew himself is speaking against the icons, it is best ignored.

<sup>8</sup> Mango, *Byzantium*, 208.

<sup>9</sup> Mango, “Life Reconsidered”, 309.



(1) As I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere,<sup>10</sup> the vocabulary of VA is very different from that of *VSymSal* and the original *VPhilar*, BHG 1511z. It also differs from that of *PratSpir*, *DoctrIac* and *MirArtem*. Instead it corresponds to that of the revised version of *VPhilar*, BHG 1512, dating from the 10th or, possibly, late 9th century. With regard to contents it is reminiscent of *VBaslun* and *VNiph*, two Lives written between the middle of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, rather than of any Early Byzantine Vita.<sup>11</sup> The impression that VA belongs to the pre-iconoclastic tradition of hagiography is therefore superficial. At most it shows that Nikephoros can still deceive his readers with the help of just a few, not always clearly understood borrowings from his 7th-century predecessors.

(2) The titles under consideration are χαρτουλάριος πλωίμων (3769), πρωτοσπαθάριος (10), and στρατηλάτης ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέρεσιν (11f.). The first of these does not seem to be securely attested before the 9th century. Hence it does not constitute an argument for an early date. It is true that the office as such may have existed in the 7th century, but if so we do not know the title of its holder. The second title, on the other hand, is attested as early as the year 718,<sup>12</sup> whereas στρατηλάτης, in the meaning *magister militum*, Mango observes, disappears from the sources after the reign of Constans II (641–68). Thus in his view the combination of the titles πρωτοσπαθάριος and στρατηλάτης shows that VA belongs to the period of transition from the Early to the Middle Byzantine period. To this might be objected that VA is a piece of historical fiction, in which fictional time must be distinguished from the time of the author. It cannot be expected to mirror the military title system of the author's own time. It should also be noted, on the one hand, that στρατηλάτης continued to be used in the general sense 'army commander' long after it had ceased to be a title,<sup>13</sup> and on the other that Nikephoros expresses himself rather vaguely. By στρατηλάτης ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέρεσιν he may mean no more than that the man in question became a general in the East.

(3) Mango observes that the miliaresion, mentioned line 333, provides a *terminus post quem* of AD 615, whereas the tremissis, mentioned 2465, refers to a coin that ceased to be issued after the reign of Leo III. He further

<sup>10</sup> Rydén, "Style", 179ff. and "Revised Version", 489f.

<sup>11</sup> For *VBaslun*, see Rydén, "Life of Basil the Younger"; for *VNiph*, *idem*, "Niphon" and *infra*, notes to Translation.

<sup>12</sup> Source: TheophConf, *Chronographia*, 398,7; see Oikonomides, *Listes*, 297. If one may trust the Armenian historian Sebeos, quoted by Mango, *op. cit.*, 300, note 21, it may have existed as early as in the 640's.

<sup>13</sup> Oikonomides, *op. cit.*, 332.



maintains that the λεπτά, φολερά and ὀβολοί mentioned in various episodes were small 5 or 10 nummi pieces, since otherwise Andrew is unlikely to have received by way of alms as much as 20 or 30 of them per day (343f.), remarking that this kind of coin disappeared after the reign of Constantine V.<sup>14</sup> To this I would like to add two observations. First, is not one miliaresion (i.e. 1/12 of a solidus) much too cheap for Andrew's nice dress (καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ line 329f., cf. 28f.)? Second, if each whore got two lepta (i.e. two 5 nummi pieces according to Mango) of the miliaresion that Andrew's dress fetched, it follows that the number of whores gathered in one small room (cf. καταγωγίου αὐτῆς line 301) was sixty, which is absurd. Thus, while it is true that the currency mentioned in VA roughly fits the 7th century, it fails to constitute a coherent monetary system of the kind one would expect to find in a contemporary text. It is also worth noting that Nikephoros' numismatic vocabulary is very incomplete. If we compare VA with *MirArtem*, which is firmly dated 659–68, we miss several characteristic coins and terms for money, e.g. semissis, keration, half follis, logarin, kerma.

(4) Because of the picture of urban life it provides Mango suggests that VA represents an intermediate stage between *MirArtem* and the *Parastaseis* (early 8th century). To my mind, however, both these documents give an incomparably more substantial, consistent and visual picture of contemporary CP than VA. I therefore doubt that this comparison is meaningful. As Nikephoros' picture is inconsistent—brothels and taverns are mentioned but there is no mention of public baths, theatres and Hippodrome games—it seems better to explain the impression of Late Antique customs in decay as a result of Nikephoros' selective way of writing historical fiction. In fact, his failure to present an organic, integrated Early Byzantine milieu indicates that he wrote long after the end of this period.

(5) If VA with its intensely moralistic tone were a product of the same climate as the Quinisext Council, as Mango argues, why did Nikephoros bother to invent a holy fool as his mouthpiece and take the trouble of dating him to the reign of Leo I? No doubt the historical fiction is an indication that VA was written at a time when its moralistic tone was less fashionable. In fact, as the Quinisext Council in its 60th canon pronounced itself against the holy fools its spirit is unlikely to have been propagated in the *Life* of a saint of this category.

(6) Mango understands Nikephoros' relaxed attitude toward the Arabs as a reflection of the optimism prevailing in the Empire during the years

<sup>14</sup> Mango, *op. cit.*, 301f.

680–95,<sup>15</sup> although he refrains from identifying the successful first apocalyptic ruler of VA with Constantine IV (668–85) or Justinian II (first reign 685–95); instead he tries to demonstrate that Andrew's apocalypse cannot have been written in the 9th–10th century. In my view the tone of the apocalypse suits this late period much better, for by that time the Byzantines had taken the offensive and were steadily expanding at the expense of the Arabs.

(7) It is doubtful whether any chronological conclusion can be drawn from the fact that Andrew's apocalypse has certain elements in common with *ApocDan*, which Mango (after Bousset) dates in the year 716/17.<sup>16</sup> First, the similarities concern details—in the notes to my translation I have noted ten instances—, many of which also occur in other apocalypses, whereas the structure and general character of Andrew's apocalypse is rather different from that of *ApocDan*.<sup>17</sup> Second, while the date of composition 716/17 seems to be right for the core of *ApocDan*, it may be irrelevant to several of the details, which may have been changed or added later. As Mango observes, *ApocDan* has come down to us in poor shape, and the MSS in which it has been preserved are late. Moreover, if we date Andrew's apocalypse in the years 680–95 we run into serious difficulties with regard to its place within the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition as a whole. The Syriac Revelation of PsMethodios was the starting point of medieval prophecy.<sup>18</sup> As P.J. Alexander demonstrated, Nikephoros knew, directly or indirectly, the Greek version of PsMethodios.<sup>19</sup> Alexander dates PsMethodios' Syriac original between 644 and 678, while S.P. Brock, supported by G.J. Reinink, recently advanced the *terminus ante quem* to 692.<sup>20</sup> Thus, even if we assume that the Greek translation appeared soon after PsMethodios wrote his Syriac Revelation we must obviously make sure that there was time enough for Nikephoros to be influenced by it before we date his *floruit* to 680–95.

Another more paradoxical consequence of the assumption that VA was written in the 7th century is that the VA apocalypse then appears as a

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, 309.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, 307f.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Rydén, "Andreas Salos Apocalypse", 236f.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, esp. Abrahamse's Introduction, 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, 126, with reference to VA 3916–20, where Nikephoros speaks of the abdication of the Last Roman Emperor at Jerusalem, a motif introduced into Byzantine literature by the Greek translator of PsMethodios.

<sup>20</sup> Brock, "Sources", 34; Reinink, "Ismael", 339, note 19; *idem*, "Legende", 85, note 15.



pioneer work in which a number of new elements were introduced that later became commonplace, although its basic structure failed to exert any influence. However, *VA*, its apocalyptic section included, is not the sort of work you might expect to find at the beginning of a literary tradition. As P.J. Alexander emphasized,<sup>21</sup> its character is encyclopedic. This presupposes that Nikephoros had access to literary material of many kinds. In the apocalypse as well as elsewhere he refers to various τινές (for the apocalypse see lines 4004 and 4038), the opinions of whom he does not share. This implies that in addition to PsMethodios he also had other predecessors, for whom we must allow at least some space of time. As to the question whether Nikephoros relied on the Greek version of PsMethodios directly or indirectly I think the latter alternative is more likely since there is no correspondence between *VA* and the *Revelation* of PsMethodios that can match e.g. the one between *VA* 1859–918 and *PratSpir* 2932BC, 2933C–2936B. It is also worth noting that to PsMethodios the Cross is the guarantee for the survival of the Empire. To Nikephoros, on the other hand, the fate of CP, not that of the Empire, is in focus, and the guarantee for its survival until the end is the Mother of God, not the Cross, which has been divided and scattered (3915f.).

There are also other weak points in Mango's theory. In the first place it offers no explanation why Nikephoros chose to date Andrew in the reign of Leo I rather than in the reign of some other emperor. Secondly, it makes it difficult to understand why Nikephoros spoke of Symeon Salos as τὸν πάλαι (224), although according to *VSymSal*, his most likely source, Symeon played the fool in the reign of Maurikios (582–602). Obviously Nikephoros did not notice that he committed an anachronism when he said that Andrew lived κατὰ τὸν πάλαι Συμεῶνα ἐκείνον τὸν θαυμαστόν. This anachronism becomes much easier to understand if we date *VA* after the end of Iconoclasm. Thirdly, Nikephoros did not become a frequent personal name until the second half of the 8th century. In the 7th century it seems to have still been rare.<sup>22</sup> Thus while there *may* have been a priest at St Sophia called Nikephoros in the second half of the 7th century it is much more likely that a person with this designation lived in the 9th–10th century.<sup>23</sup> Fourthly, Mango's theory implies that *VA* offers by far the earliest literary evidence for the title χαρτουλάριος πλωϊμῶν mentioned above, for the expression βασιλικαὶ πύλαι applied to the main door between the

<sup>21</sup> *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 125; see also Rydén, "Andreas Salos Apocalypse", 89.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. TheophConf, *Chronographia*, Index of proper names.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *ODB*, 1475 s.v. Nikephoros (A. Kazhdan).



narthex and the naos of a church (3738),<sup>24</sup> and for quite a number of buildings and places in CP, or at least for their names, namely τὸ εὐκτήριον τῆς ... θεοτόκου τὸ ὄν ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ἐμβόλῳ τοῦ φόρου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1294–6),<sup>25</sup> ὁ εὐκτήριος οἶκος τῆς ... θεοτόκου ὁ ἐπονομαζόμενος Μυρέλαιον (1467f.),<sup>26</sup> ὁ Ἀντίφορος (351),<sup>27</sup> τὰ Μαυριανοῦ (3462)<sup>28</sup> and τὸ Ἐπτάσκαλον (3635).<sup>29</sup> It seems to me bold indeed to attach so much importance to a pseudolearned piece of apocalyptic and hagiographical fiction for the topography of CP in the 7th century.

<sup>24</sup> As far as I have noticed, the expression is first attested in the writings of Theodore the Studite; cf. Mathews, *Early Churches*, 22 and Speck, *Jamben*, 198. True, Eusebios compares this door to a βασιλὶς between δορυφόροι (*HistEccles*, X, 4,41) but in the 3rd quarter of the 7th century it is still called αἱ μέσαι πόλαι (*MirArtem*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 47,28) or ὁ μέσος πυλεών (*VSpyr*, ed. Van den Ven, 88,14).

<sup>25</sup> This oratory must be identical with the church of the Mother of God built by Basil I according to *VBasMac*, Bonn ed., 339 and other sources. Since otherwise Basil I built churches *de novo* only in the palace area whereas outside this he restricted himself to the rebuilding of older churches, Mango suspects that also the church of the Mother of the God at the Forum represents the rebuilding of an older church (op. cit., 302). To this it might be objected that it is hard to see why in this particular case the author of *VBasMac* should make an exception, saying that Basil built a completely new church although he did not mean it. It is also worth noting that in a 10th-century addition to the legend of the construction of St Sophia, Basil is said to have taken mosaics and marble from the tombs at the Holy Apostles, ὅτε ὠκοδόμησε τὴν Νέαν καὶ τὸν Φόρον (Preger, *Scriptores*, 288,13–15). Similarly we learn from the *Patria*, ed. cit., 225,10–12 that ἐκκλησίαν τὴν Νέαν καὶ τὸν Φόρον τὴν Θεοτόκον ... ἔκτισεν Βασίλειος ὁ βασιλεὺς. In neither of these notices there is any indication that an older edifice was restored. As to Mango's observation (loc. cit.) that according to VA 1313 the church of the Mother of God at the Forum was provided with an ambo, an Early Byzantine piece of furniture supposedly not found in Middle Byzantine churches, it may now suffice to refer to Kazhdan, "Ambo", in which the author shows on the basis of ample literary evidence that the ambo continued to play an important role in the Middle Byzantine period, although in new churches it may have been wooden and portable.

<sup>26</sup> According to Mango (op. cit., 3) the Myrelaion refers to a church which had disappeared by the 10th century, although its name persisted and was applied to the well-known monastery founded by Romanos I c. 920. I prefer to assume that Nikephoros antedates the church erected by Romanos—to judge from *VBasIun*, fol. 142, ed. Veselovskij, 72, people were not aware of Romanos' role in the history of the Myrelaion—, whose name suited the episode in which it occurs perfectly. It is true that a church called ἡ Παναγία Θεοτόκος ἡ Ἐλεούσα τὸ παλαιὸν Μυρέλαιον appears in an edifying episode said to have taken place in the reign of Theodosios III (715–17), see F. Halkin, "L'histoire édifiante de Philothée," *JÖB*, 37 (1987), 31–7, esp. line 121. The *exemplum* seems to be late, however, and of the two churches called Θεοτόκος ἡ Ἐλεούσα listed by Janin, *Églises*, 175f., neither is older than the 11th century. In any case, the anointing of the whole body with holy oil (*myron*) is often mentioned in 10th-century texts, see note ad loc.

<sup>27</sup> That the Antiforum refers to a feature of Late Antique town planning (Mango, op. cit., 304) does not change the fact that in connection with CP the term does not appear before the Book of Ceremonies.

<sup>28</sup> Although attested in a seal of the 7th century, *ta Maurianou* does not appear in literature until the 10th century, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 442, with note 70.

<sup>29</sup> Unknown before the 10th century, see Janin, *CPhys*, 229.

This should have sufficed to demonstrate that *VA* is extremely unlikely to have been written before the outbreak of Iconoclasm. Nor, according to what was said earlier, is it likely to have been written during Iconoclasm itself. Hence it must have been written between c. 850 and c. 1000. Within these limits I still regard the sixth decade of the 10th century as the most likely date of composition. It may perhaps be a little later, but certainly not earlier. As my reasons for choosing this date have already been presented elsewhere<sup>30</sup> I shall here restrict myself to summarizing the five main points, to which I shall add a couple of further observations. Taken separately these arguments may not be cogent, yet taken together I believe they make out a good case for dating *VA* to the middle of the 10th century.

1. The selection of buildings and works of art mentioned in *VA* is reminiscent of the Early Byzantine wonders described in the *Ekphrasis* of the Holy Apostles written by Constantine of Rhodes sometime between 931 and 944. Nikephoros not only has Andrew predict the rebuilding of the Holy Apostles (1819–22) rather than that of St Sophia, although he introduces himself as a priest of the latter church, but also mentions three of the six pre-Justinian monuments<sup>31</sup> described by Constantine as a kind of prelude to the description of the Holy Apostles, namely the column of Constantine the Great (3559f., 4042f.), the Senate House at the Forum, the door of which was decorated with a Gigantomachy (1921f.), and the weather vane of Theodosios I (1943). Moreover, two of these monuments appear in two successive episodes, which in turn follow close upon the episode that contains the prediction concerning the Holy Apostles. It seems to me that when *VA* shows affinity to a secular work like the *Ekphrasis* of Constantine of Rhodes it is likely to be later than this work.

2. To a certain extent the story of Andrew's life before he became a holy fool appears to echo the legend of the career of the Emperor Basil I. Andrew as well as Basil are said to have come to CP as outsiders, Andrew being a Scythian while Basil was a Macedonian of Armenian stock with part of his childhood spent in Bulgarian captivity. They are both supposed to have made their career in the house of a great man, Theophilites in the case of Basil, Theognostos in that of Andrew. While being in the service of these men they are said to have fought in single combat against a Bulgarian

<sup>30</sup> See Rydén, "Date" and "Basil the Younger". Cf. also Rydén, "Revised Version" and "Style".

<sup>31</sup> The seventh monument, the column of Justinian, does not fit the chronological framework of *VA*.



and an Ethiopian, respectively.<sup>32</sup> More importantly, Basil's supposedly Arsacid ancestors are said to have come to CP in the reign of Leo I, whence they moved to Thrace.<sup>33</sup> When Basil became coemperor with Michael III in 866 a prophecy is said to have come true according to which an Arsacid would ascend the Roman throne after 350 years.<sup>34</sup> This means that Basil's biographer dated the prophecy to the beginning of the 6th century, although the Armenian priest Isaac, to whom the prophecy was attributed, lived in the 5th.<sup>35</sup> The story probably explains why Nikephoros dated Andrew to the 5th–6th century, for as Isaac, according to *VBasMac*, predicts Basil's elevation to the Byzantine throne after 350 years, so Andrew predicts the appearance of a pious, just and successful emperor at the end of time (3824ff.). Since the legend of Basil I emphasizes Basil's original poverty,<sup>36</sup> it probably also explains why Andrew predicts that the apocalyptic emperor in question will come "from poverty" (3825), although, with the exception of *VisDanUlt*, which says that he will be wearing *πενυχρά*,<sup>37</sup> other Byzantine apocalypses either say that he will be awakened as if from sleep (death, drunkenness, uselessness) or restrict themselves to saying that he will be of humble origin.<sup>38</sup> This in turn indicates that both *VA* and *VisDanUlt* are contemporary with or later than *VBasMac*, written c. 950, in which the legend of Basil I was most carefully worked out.<sup>39</sup>

3. The earliest known MS of *VA* is the fragment (A) contained in the *Monacensis* gr. 443. As mentioned above, A was written sometime between c. 950 and the beginning of the 11th century. It is remarkable not only for its early date but also for two other reasons. First, it offers a text which is more convincing than that of any other MS known to me. It does not contain any errors that cannot be explained. Nor does it belong to any of the various branches of the MS tradition; on the contrary, it represents

<sup>32</sup> *VBasMac*, 229,12–230,12; *VA* 42ff.

<sup>33</sup> *VBasMac*, 213,9.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, 241,17ff.

<sup>35</sup> According to Garitte, "Vision de Sahak", 256, Isaac's prophecy is mentioned in Greek sources already c. 700. If we are to believe *VIgn* 565Cff., it was first applied to Basil I by Photios, who invented a royal Armenian pedigree for Basil, prophesying that he would reign longer and more happily than any of his predecessors.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Moravcsik, "Sagen und Legenden", 69f. and Rydén, "Date", 142, note 77; see also note ad loc.

<sup>37</sup> Ed. Schmoltdt, 132.

<sup>38</sup> See Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 155.

<sup>39</sup> Note that the first apocalyptic emperor in *VA* does not represent Basil I. This interpretation, suggested in Wortley, "Warrior-Emperor", has been convincingly rejected by Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 124, note 5. The legend of Basil I only supplied material for the emperor described in *VA*.



the very beginning of this tradition, before it split up into different versions. Second, it is written in majuscule script, which after the introduction of the minuscule was used as *Auszeichnungsschrift*<sup>40</sup> rather than for the purpose of copying texts. From these circumstances I concluded<sup>41</sup> that A is a fragment of the original and that Nikephoros wrote VA in majuscule script in order to support the fiction that VA was written in the 6th century, using the same artifice as Photios did when, on the basis of Isaac's vision, he wrote a prophecy concerning Basil I in "Alexandrian" letters.<sup>42</sup> If this understanding of A is correct, the *terminus post quem* for the composition of VA is c. 950, as already indicated above.

4. The VA apocalypse has several elements in common with *VisDanHeb*, written in the reign of Constantine VII after he had become sole emperor, i.e. between 945 and 959, although attributed to the Archangel Gabriel who is said to have appeared to Daniel in the reign of Chosroes, king of Persia (presumably Chosroes I, 531–79).<sup>43</sup> Two of these similarities are particularly significant. First, Andrew predicts that the fourth apocalyptic ruler will be an Ethiopian (3907f.) and the fifth an Arab (3914). These two rulers can be identified as reincarnations of Alexander the Great and Jovian.<sup>44</sup> Until Sharf published his translation of *VisDanHeb*, however, there was no convincing explanation why "Jovian" should appear in the guise of an Arab. Now we can see that in *VisDanHeb*, in which Byzantine history from Michael III to Constantine VII is reviewed in the future tense, Leo VI is provided with two successive coregents, the former described as dark and the latter as an Arab (*VisDanHeb* 304F), referring to the *basileopator* Stylianos Zaoutzes and the Arab eunuch Samonas, respectively.<sup>45</sup> It seems to me that this constellation reappears in the VA apocalypse, although now referring to a different pair of persons.<sup>46</sup>

Second, in *VisDanHeb* Gabriel prophesies about Constantine VII that "many foes will gather about him to ensnare him but their counsel will be frustrated for he will be worthy of (divine) protection" (305H). Initially his reign will therefore be prosperous, but then his kingdom will be conquered, coming under the rule of the son of wickedness, whose reign will last three

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Hunger, "Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften", 204.

<sup>41</sup> Rydén, "Date", 132.

<sup>42</sup> *Vlg* 568A.

<sup>43</sup> Rydén, "Date", 150f.

<sup>44</sup> Rydén, "Aufbau", 111f.; cf. Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 124.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Jenkins, "Symeon the 'Logothete'", 107, note 72; very striking in this context is the remark, quoted by Jenkins, of Leo VI to Stylianos Zaoutzes in *VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz, 11,28 Τῆ σοί ἐστιν, Αἰθίοψ;

<sup>46</sup> Consequently the tentative explanation I suggested in "Aufbau", 112f. should be ignored.

years and a half. Thus Constantine VII will be the last Byzantine emperor, and the last imperial dynasty will be the Macedonian. Now Gabriel's prophecy about Constantine VII in *VisDanHeb* looks like a summary of Andrew's prophecy about CP, VA 3817–20: "About our city you shall know: until the end no nation whatever shall entrap or capture her, by no means, for she has been given to the Mother of God and no one shall snatch her out of her hands." This indicates the possibility that Andrew's first apocalyptic emperor, after whom the son of lawlessness will reign for three years and a half (3859ff.), corresponds to Constantine VII. If so, VA is unlikely to have been written after November, 959, when Constantine VII died.

As indicated above, VA is reminiscent of an encyclopedia, and in such a work, in Nikephoros' view, the entry "apocalypse", or "end of the world", should not be missing. Not only VA as a whole but also the apocalyptic section itself is encyclopedic, containing material from various times and sources. This encyclopedic ambition, together with the historical interest, albeit amateurish, so evident in VA, fits the age of Constantine VII well. Moreover, as already mentioned, the first apocalyptic rulers are partly patterned on the first Byzantine emperors from Constantine the Great to Jovian. Is it mere coincidence that Constantine VII carried the same name as the first of these emperors? To me the idea of patterning a series of apocalyptic rulers upon Constantine the Great and his nearest successors seems likely to have been conceived in the reign of Constantine VII. At that time the figure of Constantine the Great was very much in focus, as appears from the many references to him in the writings commissioned by Constantine VII as well as in the *Antapodosis* of Liudprand of Cremona.<sup>47</sup>

As a rule an apocalypse begins with a series of prophecies *ex eventu*, followed by a real prophecy. If you can find the point where the former passes into the latter you know when the apocalypse in question was written. Unfortunately, however, the case of VA is more complicated. The Life as a whole contains some prophecies *ex eventu*, in the first place the elevation of Epiphanius to the patriarchal throne (383–5) and the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Apostles (1826–9), but these do not take us very far. The same applies to the apocalyptic section proper, since its beginning is structured after the early history of Byzantium, although, as we have seen, certain details reveal that it was written after the Arab conquest. Neverthe-

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Rydén, "Date", 149f.; Shepard, "Information", 240f. For a judicious assessment of Constantine's literary activities, see I. Ševčenko, "Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus," in J. Shepard–S. Franklin, eds., *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Aldershot, 1992), 167–95.



less, even in this apocalypse there must be a point where a prophecy *ex eventu* turns into a real prophecy. This point can only be where the pious, just and successful first emperor is succeeded by the son of lawlessness. Thus in *VA* the prophecy *ex eventu* is unusually short and non-committal, the real prophecy being instead unusually circumstantial. This in turn indicates that Nikephoros' interest in apocalypse was rather theoretical. The fact that he put his message in the mouth of an unknown holy fool and hid it in a lengthy work, containing a great variety of material, points in the same direction.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, even if Nikephoros, unlike most other apocalyptists, did not anxiously search the events of his time for forebodings of the end, he must have been under the influence of the apocalyptic thinking of his contemporaries and, at least in principle, have thought that he lived in an age inaugurating the apocalyptic era. Now Nikephoros says that the first emperor will reign 32 years, the second emperor three and a half, the Ethiopian twelve years, the Arab one year and the three young men five months. This makes about 48,5 years altogether, to which one may add the mourning for CP, which will last 40 days, and the presumably short reigns of the third emperor and the wicked woman as well as the equally short period during which the power will be divided between Rome, Syllaion and Thessalonica. The Antichrist will therefore appear about fifty years after the beginning of the reign of the first emperor. This means that if we assume that the first emperor represents Constantine VII, the Antichrist will appear around the year 1000, i.e. in the very middle of the 7th millenium. As P. Magdalino, "History of the Future", 24–6, has shown, this date was important not only in the west but also in Byzantine apocalyptic thinking.

To sum up the evidence of the apocalypse, in my first analysis, now many years old, I argued that the *VA* apocalypse fails to yield chronological clues because Nikephoros passes from history to prophecy already after "Jovian" has surrendered his diadem to God (3913–20), thus jumping from the 4th century to the future without taking notice of the intervening period, with the exception that he incorporates some of the apocalyptic material of the 8th century.<sup>49</sup> In a later study I tried to show that the *VA* apocalypse in fact contains a second transition from history to the future, namely between the first apocalyptic ruler ("Constantine the Great") and the second ("Constantios"), and that this may help us date *VA*. In "Constantine the Great" I

<sup>48</sup> For similar reasons also the apocalypse contained in *VNiph* is difficult to date, see Rydén, "Niphon", 36f.

<sup>49</sup> See Rydén, "Aufbau", 117.



saw a reference to Constantine VII. I found that Nikephoros, like the author of *VisDanHeb*, was of the opinion that after Constantine VII the end would begin.<sup>50</sup> Now I would like to add that even if he may not have been so sure, the date of composition suggested by me is too much in harmony with the apocalyptic expectations aroused by the approaching year 6500 to be entirely accidental.

5. In important respects, *VA* is reminiscent of *VBaslun*. Like Andrew, Basil lacks a family background. Like him he comes from far away to live and die in CP. Now and then he behaves like a fool. As Andrew enjoys the veneration and protection of Epiphanius, the son of a wealthy man, so Basil enjoys the hospitality of the powerful.<sup>51</sup> Neither Andrew nor Basil belongs to a monastery, although the latter is said to have taken the vows.<sup>52</sup> As a teacher Basil is to Gregory, the author of *VBaslun*, what Andrew is to Epiphanius—that Nikephoros himself only figures in the margin is due to the fact that *VA*, unlike *VBaslun*, is supposed to have been written many centuries ago. Neither Nikephoros nor Gregory is acquainted with secular learning. Instead they seem to be familiar with the hagiographical works of Leontios of Neapolis and similar early Byzantine literature. Both are fascinated by apocalypse to such an extent that *VA* and *VBaslun* almost appear to be pretexts for writing apocalyptic fiction.<sup>53</sup> Neither of them is a monk, although Basil admonishes Gregory to become one,<sup>54</sup> Nikephoros introducing himself as a priest at St Sophia while Gregory says that he is a πένης renting a house or an apartment in CP<sup>55</sup> although he owns a *proasteion* with a vineyard at Rhaidestos, which is run by a μίσθιος and provided with a chapel;<sup>56</sup> at CP he seems to have been associated with a church dedicated to St Stephanos the First Martyr.<sup>57</sup> In addition to these general similarities there are quite a number of details indicating a close relationship between *VA* and *VBaslun*.<sup>58</sup> It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that *VA*

<sup>50</sup> Rydén, "Date", esp. 152f.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Patlagean, "Sainteté", esp. 97.

<sup>52</sup> *VBaslun*, fol. 3, ed. Vilinskij, 284,20.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde", 207.

<sup>54</sup> *VBaslun*, fol. 359, ed. Vilinskij, 332,18.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 55<sup>v</sup>, ed. Vilinskij, 319,7: Gregory speaks of τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ οἴκου.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, fols. 55–59, ed. Vilinskij, 318–21.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 55, ed. Vilinskij, 318,34–319,5.

<sup>58</sup> See Rydén, "Basil the Younger", 581–5. Mango, "Life Reconsidered", 310 objects that *VA* differs from *VBaslun* because in the former *Vita* life goes on in public, whereas Basil is never shown out in the street. This difference has a natural explanation, however, for Andrew is a social outcast and therefore forced to live outdoors, while Basil is accepted in the houses of the rich and powerful. Moreover, Andrew is said to have lived in the 5th century, when life was different, as Nikephoros certainly knew, while Basil is a contemporary saint.

and *VBaslun* were written by authors living at about the same time and having more or less the same social background. It is assumed that *VBaslun* was written between the death of the Patriarch Theophylaktos in 956 and the death of Constantine VII in November 959.<sup>59</sup> This may be correct, although in my view the possibility of a somewhat later date cannot be entirely ruled out.<sup>60</sup> As to *VA* it is hard to know whether it should be dated before or after *VBaslun*. It is tempting to think, however, that Andrew is included in the small but prominent group of anonymous holy fools entering the heavenly Jerusalem in Gregory's vision of the Last Judgment.<sup>61</sup> If so, *VA* should be dated before *VBaslun*, although it may be safer to say that the common interests, outlook and opinions demonstrated in the two Lives indicate that they were written at about the same time and by authors moving in similar circles.

Finally I shall briefly consider five other objections raised by Mango against the date suggested by me. I am referring to the following five. 1. In the 10th century it would have been nonsense to say that a φουσκάρτιος doing business at CP was a Christian (PG 111, 660A).<sup>62</sup> 2. In 10th-century CP no one would have been called Keleustion (line 2341).<sup>63</sup> 3. Nikephoros cannot have "possessed the antiquarian knowledge to deliberately introduce various institutions that had become extinct before his lifetime, to recreate a picture of urban life that no longer corresponded to reality or to avoid mentioning a whole string of monuments that arose after the 6th century."<sup>64</sup> 4. After the sack of Thessalonica by the Arabs in 904 the prophecy: "Thessalonica, you will overcome your enemies, for you are the pride of saints and have been sanctified by the Most High" (3925f.) does not make good sense.<sup>65</sup> 5. The chronicles of the Logothete group mention a certain Nikolaos Androsalites, who appears to have been surnamed after Andreas Salos. If so, Andrew must have been well known by the middle of the 10th century, and if he was well known by then he must have lived much earlier.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Grégoire–Orgels, "L'invasion hongroise", 154.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Rydén, "Basil the Younger", 576f.

<sup>61</sup> *VBaslun*, fols. 230<sup>v</sup>–232, ed. Veselovskij, 74f.

<sup>62</sup> "Life Reconsidered", 308.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, 299.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, 307. In Mango's more elegant translation the prophecy runs: "Thessalonica, you will vanquish your enemies, for you are the pride of the saints and have been sanctified by the Highest."

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, 308f.



To these objections one may answer as follows. 1. The φουσκάριος is said to have lived in the 5th century, not in the 10th. He is not called a Christian, for the meaningless words Χριστιανὸν ὄντα, ἔνεκά τινος (PG 111, 660A), should be replaced by χρείας τινὸς ἔνεκα (line 412). 2. Like the φουσκάριος, Keleustion is said to have lived in the 5th century, not in the 10th. The fiction that Andrew lived in the 5th century is unlikely to have caused the author as much trouble as Mango thinks. As is well known, in 10th-century CP there was a renewed interest in history, an interest that Nikephoros, on his level of education, may very well have shared. He says that young Andrew “loved to read ... the Passions of the martyrs and the Lives of the God-bearing Fathers” (29–31). Surely this reflects Nikephoros’ own inclinations. We should not be surprised that he managed to avoid most of the many antiquarian anachronisms possible, particularly as the number of public buildings and other *realia* mentioned in VA is comparatively low. Nor is it correct to say that Nikephoros managed to “re-create a picture of urban life that no longer corresponded to reality,” for he only managed to include a limited number of historical *spolia*. These are too few, too badly integrated and too widely spread out over the entire proto-Byzantine period to conjure up a convincing vision of the historical past. Moreover, the overall character of VA, its combination of hagiography, apocalypse and encyclopedism and its literary style, are anachronistic. This character is alien to the 7th century but fits the 10th century well. 4. The prophecy concerning Thessalonica may not have to be taken too seriously, as the example of Euchaita, the well-known pilgrimage site near Amaseia in Asia Minor, indicates. Euchaita was sacked by the Arabs in 640. Nevertheless the redactor of the Acts of St Theodore Teron, who lived much later, claims that “Euchaita has been preserved until the present day,” omitting a miracle connected with this disaster, apparently in order not to compromise his hero.<sup>67</sup> It may also be noted that the asêkrêtês Symeon is said to have prevented Thessalonica from being erased to the ground, persuading Leo of Tripoli “to save the town and forego most of the captives”.<sup>68</sup> To Nikephoros’ mind the sack of Thessalonica in 904 may therefore have carried little weight in comparison with all the Slavic sieges from which it had been saved by its famous patron saint Demetrios, and with the fact that the second half of the name means ‘victory’. Moreover, the prophecy that Thessalonica will overcome its enemies is not in a part of the apocalypse

<sup>67</sup> See Trombley, “Decline”, 75. I wish to thank Frank Trombley for pointing out this parallel to me.

<sup>68</sup> *VEuthymPatrCP*, ed. Karlin-Hayter, 101,10–19; cf. *TheophCont*, Bonn ed., 368,13–16.



that can be labelled *ex eventu*, i.e. it does not refer to the period between the fictitious and the real date of composition but is a real prophecy. It not only refers to the future from the author's point of view, it is even supposed to be pronounced in this very future. The reference to the sack of Thessalonica by the Arabs in 904 is therefore, strictly speaking, irrelevant.<sup>69</sup> 5. In a compound beginning with ἀνδρο-, ἀνδρο- normally derives from ἀνὴρ, not from Ἀνδρέας. Furthermore, the occurrence of the very similar surname Androsylites in a contemporary source<sup>70</sup> renders a connection with Andreas Salos unlikely, as Mango himself admits. A third objection is that names like Hagiostephanites and Hagiotheodorites, to which Androsalites should be compared according to Mango, refer to places (monasteries, churches etc.) rather than to persons.<sup>71</sup> The first indication of a church or monastery dedicated to Andrew the Fool does not appear until the late 14th century.<sup>72</sup> Thus, while it is hard to see how VA could have been written in the 7th century, there is nothing to prevent us from dating it to the 10th.

<sup>69</sup> Whether this argument can also be applied to the passage *VTheodThess*, ed. Kurtz, 4,17–20 is more doubtful, cf. *infra*, note 46 to line 3926. Note, however, that Andrew also predicts that Syllaion will never be taken (3941f.), although temporarily it may have been in Arab hands in c. 807, see Mango, *op. cit.* 307.

<sup>70</sup> Darrouzès, *Épistoliers*, 85 and 91. According to Darrouzès Androsylites refers to the same family as Androsalites (*ibid.*, 85, note 33).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. also Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.*, 577,7f. οἱ ἀποστολῖται ψάλλται, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ἀγιοσοφῖται 'the singers of the church of the Holy Apostles as well as those of St Sophia.'

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 316.

## The Author and his Conceptual Cosmos

As might be expected with regard to the historical fiction, the author of *VA* keeps a lower profile than the author of *VBasIun*.<sup>1</sup> He tells very little about himself, and of the few pieces of information that he gives at least two cannot be true, namely that he knew Andrew, whose only good friend he pretends to be at the beginning (line 230f.), and that he knew Epiphaneios, who later took over as Andrew's special interlocutor (1786–8, 4270–2, 4396f.). Is he equally insincere in the epilogue when he introduces himself as Nikephoros, priest at St Sophia in the Queen of cities, and when he gives the impression of being unmarried and living alone, except that he has a slave or servant (443)?

Strictly speaking, the historical fiction implies that the real author, who lived in the 10th century, denied authorship of *VA*, pretending that he had discovered a hitherto unknown document, which had been written in the 6th century by one Nikephoros, priest at St Sophia in CP. Reasonably, it should also imply that he chose a *nom de plume* known to have been current in the 6th century. Yet, as we have seen, Nikephoros was an extremely rare name during the entire proto-Byzantine period. Hence there are two possibilities. Either the author did not notice that he had chosen a *nom de plume* which conflicts with the chronological fiction, or he appeared under his own name, disregarding the chronological fiction altogether. Of these possibilities I prefer the latter as being simpler and well in accordance with the general character of the narrative framework, in which historical *spolia* alternate with features belonging to the author's own time. I shall therefore continue to call the author Nikephoros.

That he was a native of CP, or at least had lived there since his early years, is evidenced by his familiarity with the topography and history of the capital (in this context his errors do not count) as well as his lack of interest in other places. A similar indication is contained in the apocalypse, which

---

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the various degrees to which Byzantine writers talk about themselves or are otherwise present in their work, see A. Kazhdan, "Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JÖB*, 28 (1979), 1–21, esp. 11f.; Ja. Ljubarskij, "'Writers' Intrusion' in Early Byzantine Literature," *XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Major Papers* (Moscow, 1991), 433–56, esp. 442ff. about the principles of self-depiction.



focuses on the capital and the emperors rather than on the Empire as a whole. It is true that after the disappearance of CP important roles are assigned to Rome, Syllaion and Thessalonica, and that the apocalypse also contains references to Egypt and Illyricum, to the Aegean islands (in the peculiar form τὰς κυκλάδας τῶν νήσων), to an enigmatic series of towns called Riza, Armenopetra, Strobilos and Karyoupolis, and to the provinces Phrygia, Karia, Galatia, Asia, Armenia and Arabia. However, these names appear to have little to do with contemporary reality. They rather confirm that the world outside CP (with the possible exception of a few centres such as Thessalonica and Amastra) was alien to Nikephoros. To him the "filthy nations" waiting behind the gates of Alexander the Great (4051ff.) probably constituted a real threat.

As Nikephoros could read and write, had time enough for composing a book and could afford the parchment needed to write it down,<sup>2</sup> it is not impossible that he was a priest, lived in downtown CP and had a slave or a servant. Whether he also had contact with the upper classes is more doubtful. When he says that his alter ego knew Epiphanius, who belonged to a wealthy family, he may be compared with Gregory, the author of *VBaslun*, who says that Basil moved in the best circles of the capital, while he classes himself as one of the poor.<sup>3</sup> The most interesting question, however, is whether a *Vita* of the kind of *VA* is likely to have been written by a priest of St Sophia living in the 10th century. Let us first consider Nikephoros' level of education. Judging from how and what he writes it is obvious that he had received an elementary education but lacked formal literary training.<sup>4</sup> By and large his vocabulary is that of the written Koine of the 10th century,<sup>5</sup> but his spelling is irregular, not to say wild (see further *infra*) and his grammar shaky. He often fails to express his thoughts in the logical order. He never refers to classical literature. His references to ancient history are limited to Alexander the Great and the first four Byzantine emperors in legendary guise. Even within the limits of the familiar world of the Bible

<sup>2</sup> As pointed out below, it is probable that, originally, the MS A consisted of 20 quires or 160 folios. Judging from the book prices quoted by Wilson, "Books and Readers", 3, the parchment needed for *VA* may have cost Nikephoros about 2–3 nomismata, or perhaps, considering the low quality of the parchment used, a little less.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the preceding chapter.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the anonymous author of *VBlasAmor*, who says that he had only received the rudiments of a literary education (οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν ἄρτι τῶν παιδῶν τὴν τῶν στοιχείων ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι) and made no acquaintance with secular learning at all (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν μεθέξει τῆς ἐξω παιδείας γεγόναμεν), although his style is much more ambitious than Nikephoros', see ed. Delehay, 658A.

<sup>5</sup> See Rydén, "Revised Version", 486–90.



his grasp of history is weak, as he demonstrates when he confuses Antiochos with Titus and Vespasian (3097–9). A particularly clear indicator of his level of education are the *erotapokriseis* (2893–3460), which embarrass a modern reader by their lack of system, method and critical sense. The caricature of the ‘philosophers’ line 816ff. even suggests that far from regretting that he has remained ἀμέτοχος τῆς θύραθεν σοφίας and lacks intellectual training, he in fact dislikes higher education. But is this incompatible with the education of a priest at St Sophia? Certainly not. Wild spelling and bad grammar are also to be found in the imperial scriptorium of the same period,<sup>6</sup> and there is no reason to doubt that Constantine Porphyrogenetos himself lacked both historical and critical sense. In his intellectual and literary approach Nikephoros is therefore medieval, or Middle Byzantine, rather than ignorant, which renders meaningless the question whether a priest at St Sophia could be credited with the composition of VA.<sup>7</sup>

Official theology was of no more concern to Nikephoros than secular learning. His ambition was to reveal the secrets of heaven and hell, demonstrate the workings of angels and demons, tell the future of CP, foretell the signs of the end of the world, and explain the hidden meaning of certain biblical passages. Such a programme would probably fit a priest, or at least a monk. At any rate, in these matters there were many traditions but no orthodoxy. Nikephoros was therefore free to exploit a rich folkloric material, make his own combinations, invent new visions and give his own opinions, all the more so as he created an old holy fool to convey his message. It should be borne in mind, however, that in his treatment of this apocryphal subject matter he shows more restraint than the surely lay author of *VBasilun*, whose visions tend to expand beyond proportion.

Leaving the uncertain question of the author’s social and professional status let us take a close look at his conceptual world and by so doing collect under a few headings the relevant pieces of information scattered in the Vita. Although such systematization was foreign to Nikephoros, as it was to most medieval writers, it may contribute to a better understanding of the intellectual milieu in which he lived and his own way of thinking in particular.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the following useful remark in Haldon, *Three Treatises*, 74: “... even the copyists employed by a person such as Basil the *parakoimômenos* were not party to the literary excellence aspired to by the educated élite of Byzantine society, and attained by very few.”

<sup>7</sup> It should be borne in mind that there were hundreds of priests at St Sophia, see for instance Dagron, *CP imaginaire*, 252.

<sup>8</sup> For an elegant survey of the conceptual world of the Byzantines, illustrated with examples also from VA, see Mango, *Byzantium*, 151–229.

*The earth and the visible heaven*

The earth, apparently flat, is surrounded by a river on which the visible heaven, or firmament, rests (4313f.). The firmament is covered by, or rather consists of, water (3055ff.). The clouds are under the visible heaven. From where do they receive their rain-water? There are two answers, one based on Gen. 9:13 and Ps. 32:7, the other on Ps. 134:7 and an unidentified passage. According to the former (3110ff.) the water comes from the rainbow, which gathers it from the seas in a wineskin, as it were, and puts it into the storehouses of the clouds. When God wills, they can be opened by winds. When this happens there is thunder and the clouds are filled with water like sponges. Rain without thunder is produced by angels. According to the latter explanation (3147ff.) the water is gathered and put into the clouds by siphons, or typhoons. Lightning, which is a reflection of the fire above the firmament, clears it from salt and dirt and an angel makes it sweet with the help of the Cross. In winter the water may be rendered white by a spirit sent down by God from the firmament, whereupon it coagulates into snow as it falls through the air (3226ff.)<sup>9</sup>

*The invisible heavens*

Above the firmament there are two other heavens, the first white as snow (626), the second like a golden leaf (638), although they cannot be seen from the earth. When Andrew makes his famous journey to the throne of God, he first comes to paradise and then passes three heavens provided with an increasing number of curtains reminiscent of the *vela* of the imperial court. Above the third heaven there are no less than four curtains and above them God's throne stands at an immense height, resting on nothing but air. According to line 3075ff. the air extends upwards endlessly, but in another passage Andrew speculates that above the air there may be an infinite sea (4298f.).

Andrew's journey through the heavens is supplemented by a vision granted Epiphanius, in which the kingdom of heaven is described as a palace or series of palaces built of 'solar breeze' with rooms which are like flashes of lightning (1731f., 1761f.). In this vision no mention is made of the three heavens and the curtains.

<sup>9</sup> Note that in app. d, line 22ff. an *erotapokrisis* is devoted to the essence, form, size and movement of the sun.



## Paradise

Since Andrew's journey through the heavens starts from paradise, to which he also returns before he wakes up, it is obviously located on earth, as usual, and presumably in the east, adjacent to the shining white waters mentioned 4315f. The abyss which is elsewhere said to separate paradise from the *oikoumenê* and over which one has to pass on the so-called *Jen-seitsbrücke*, is not mentioned.<sup>10</sup> In VA paradise is first described as a garden with wonderful trees planted in rows and inhabited by song-birds. Four winds, succeeding each other, make their crowns billow. A river waters the trees and refreshes the birds. The air is sweet-smelling and gleams with eternal light. On the far side of the river is a broad place in which God's wealth is treasured up. A vine symbolizing Christ spreads over the whole garden on both sides of the river, embracing the trees (505–602). Then as he returns from paradise Andrew finds himself standing in a meadow starred with lilies and roses. The trees and the river have been replaced by wells gushing with milk and honey. The abode of the Mother of God is here, but Andrew cannot visit her, because she is in the world, helping those who invoke her (690–727).

In the *erotapokriseis* Andrew says that the souls of the righteous are in paradise, contemplating the good things which they will enjoy after their bodies have been resurrected (3297–9). When the adulterous deacon Raphael lies on his deathbed, he knows that he will never dwell in the blessed tents of the righteous (2798f.). Consequently one would expect the souls of the righteous to appear in Andrew's vision, all the more so as the souls of the sinners appear in the guise of animals in the description of Hades (2323–80). In this respect the paradise which Andrew visits contrasts with those described in *VPhilar*, *VBaslun* and the *VisCosm*, in which the souls have all but taken possession of the good things which are in store for them; in fact, they look exactly as if their bodies had already been resurrected.<sup>11</sup> Why then is the paradise described in VA empty? Perhaps because Nikephoros follows another tradition, to be precise the one represented by the story of Sozomenos the Merciful, in which paradise, described in a manner highly reminiscent of VA, is also empty. This story is not only contained in *VNiph*<sup>12</sup> but also transmitted separately in the *Vindobonensis*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *VPhilar*, BHG 1511z, ed. Fourmy-Leroy, 165,1f.; *VBaslun*, fol. 68<sup>v</sup>, ed. Veselovskij, 12,4; *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehay, 109,41–6.

<sup>11</sup> *VPhilar*, ed. cit. 163,14–32; *VBaslun*, fol. 108<sup>v</sup> ff., ed. cit. 44f.; *SynaxCP*, ed. cit. 111,31–3, 113,22–5.

<sup>12</sup> Ed. Rystencko, 62,8ff.



*Theol. Gr.* 10, written in the 10th century.<sup>13</sup> It may be that the trees represent the righteous, since in Epiphanius' vision line 1687ff. Andrew is represented by a wonderful fruit-tree, although the garden in which it stands cannot be paradise, for in the same place there are also dry trees and trees with bitter fruit representing sinners.

### *The underworld*

Under the earth there is water, under the water chasm, under the chasm Hades, under Hades abyss, under the abyss Erebus, under Erebus darkness, under the darkness chaos and under the chaos another chaos. Andrew says that he has spiritually explored these regions but never found their bottom or end (lines 4299–317).

Naturally, the most important part of these infernal regions is Hades, where Satan was bound by the Lord, although in the last days he will be loosed (4069–74). What is it like? According to Epiphanius' vision lines 2323–80 it is a gloomy, ill-smelling place in which the souls of the sinners are locked up in horrible dungeons. They have the shape of various animals and feed on their own sins, which have taken the form of ordure and other loathsome matters. It should be borne in mind, however, that the souls of the sinners do not really assume the guise of animals. Epiphanius' vision merely illustrates that to God the sinners are like foolish beasts (2353ff.).

One of the dungeons is the "eternal dwelling and inescapable retribution" of Epiphanius' profligate friend John (2341). In another passage the soul of the unrepentant blasphemer is said to go straight to the bottom of Hades to be fettered there in eternal darkness (3498–500). As a matter of fact, however, Hades is neither eternal nor does it represent final retribution, for after Resurrection the sinners will be surrendered to the fire (2346–8). Thus the other world consists of four parts, paradise and the kingdom of heaven on the one hand and Hades and the eternal fire on the other, the two pairs balancing each other.

In addition, Hades is the name of the insatiable dragon in the deep, often represented in art, who opens his mouth to devour the sinner, soul and body (1585, 1928f., 2692).

<sup>13</sup> See Ševčenko, "On Some Sources", 733ff.

## Man

To Nikephoros the human being is almost exclusively male. Barbara, a pious woman (3609), and the unhappy wives of two adulterous husbands (2425ff., 3501ff.) are practically the only exceptions. It is hardly an accident, therefore, that at 752ff. the devil transforms himself into an old woman, as on another occasion (875f.) he appears as an old Arab, and that he speaks of “the worm-eaten bodies of women” (2215f., cf. note 1 ad loc.) and “ill-smelling women” (2723) and compares the laughs of the demons to the laughs of indecent women (1166–79). One has the impression that the female body is sinful by nature, whereas the male body is sinful only if it belongs to a sinner.

Man is a synthesis, a combination of three main parts, namely νοῦς, λόγος and σῶμα, united, it would seem, by the εὔπνοια, the faculty of breathing (3018–20).<sup>14</sup> Our will, thoughts, ideas and feelings are located in the heart (2429f., 2887, 4260f. etc.), whereas our desires are located in the flesh (2759). The νοῦς is often mentioned together with the διάνοια (667, 954 etc.), which may be taken prisoner by the devil so that one becomes mad (1045). This is the case with Andrew, people think (3761f., and elsewhere).

More important than this tripartite structure of man, however, is his bipartite division into soul and body, in which the body is wholly dependent on the soul. Severed from the soul, the body loses its life and becomes mud, dust and ashes (2901f.). As in Genesis the human body appears as an extremely simple phenomenon. There is no mention of the cardinal humours or any other medical theory.

Like man as a whole, the soul is νοερά, λογική and πνευματική (3022). Like the body, the soul is provided with eyes and ears (1175, 2695, 3564f. etc.). Sometimes the eyes are said to belong to the διάνοια (1155) or the πνεῦμα (4309), to be situated ἐνδοθεν (1599), or simply to be spiritual (486, 1051 etc.). A saint can use his spiritual senses freely, whereas those of an ordinary person must be opened (1599, 2089, 2560, 3755–7 etc.). The soul is further said to be like a fine spirit with beautiful but invisible limbs (2906–9).<sup>15</sup> At 2346 Andrew speaks of souls put in chains in Hades, and at 4341f. he says of Epiphanius and himself, “we bend the knee of our soul,

<sup>14</sup> Note that Nikephoros adheres to the Greek concept of man as a synthesis, whereas in Gen. 2:7 man is described as an animated unity.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. note 2 ad loc.



body, heart and spirit.” When a woman becomes pregnant a soul is put into the embryo (2925–7).<sup>16</sup> At first it is spotless (2927), but during the life cycle it may undergo changes. If it belongs to a sinner it becomes dark, although the darkening should not be taken literally (2930). The young men who spend the night in a brothel are said to ruin the beauty of their souls (252). Speaking of a homosexual Andrew uses the expression “the works of his soul” (1052). If on the other hand the soul belongs to a person who suffers hardship for the sake of Christ, it becomes bright and brilliant (2915–24); at 1538–40 an angel speaks of the beauty of Andrew’s soul. To judge from 308 πόρνευσον καὶ κόρεσον τῆς ψυχῆς σου τὸ ἐπιθύμημα and 1354 φάγε ... καὶ ἐμπλησον τὴν ψυχὴν σου, the soul is the seat of hunger and sexual desire.

When a man dies, his soul becomes both inactive (2891f.) and impassive, as it were. It can no longer do a good deed or commit a sin, nor is it susceptible to reward or punishment until the body is resurrected. Nevertheless, even at this intermediate stage there is a difference between the fate of the souls of the righteous and that of the souls of the sinners, for the former can see the good things that are in store for them and look forward to taking full possession of them after Resurrection while, as we have seen, the latter wait for the eternal fire in the dirty dungeons of Hades.

Since the body is totally dependent on the soul, death may be defined as the separation of body and soul. Yet body and soul may remain united even after death, as the story of the dead young girl and the grave robber shows. As the girl had led an honourable life and was a virgin, one would expect her soul to be in paradise, contemplating all the good things gathered there. But in fact it still lingers in her body, for as the robber tries to take her last, intimate garment she raises her arm and strikes him in the face, reproaching him bitterly. She even rises to her feet, takes her things back and puts them on, before falling into the sleep of death again. To Nikephoros this proves that those who love God live and rejoice after death (1902f.). One is reminded of the martyrs who were believed to be present in their bodily remains at the same time as they are standing before God, interceding with him on behalf of the faithful. The lasting relationship between body and soul is also indicated in the story of the wicked rich man’s funeral procession (1498ff.). As the procession passes in front of him Andrew sees the prince of the demons hastening to the rich man’s tomb to burn his body after it has been buried, as if it could still feel pain. This makes Andrew pray

<sup>16</sup> For the question when this implantation was believed to take place, see note 4 ad loc.



to God that the dragon in the deep shall not be permitted to devour his body with his soul (1585).<sup>17</sup>

Thus some kind of life was believed to go on even after death. Correspondingly, that which belongs to death may appear even before the soul has been separated from the body, for the profligate John, the adulterous Raphael, the blasphemer and the licentious *chartoularios* of the fleet all die in agony, as if their eternal punishments had begun already in this life (2395–401, 2814–26, 3486–500, 3778–87).<sup>18</sup> One is reminded of Constantine V, who is said to have cried out ζῶν ἔτι πρὶ ἀσβέστω παρεδόθην before he died.<sup>19</sup> In this context it is also worth noting that the good and the evil angel quarrel over the possession of the soul of the miserly monk, although nothing indicates that his death is imminent (1973ff.). Evidently, in this medieval world the borderline between life and death was not as precise as it appears to us.

Man possesses free will (2278). Although the devil by all means tempts man to commit sin, he cannot force him. Sin is the result of an individual person's free choice. When he yields to temptation, the grace of God leaves him in disgust, ceding its place to the devil (2601–10). On the other hand, if he resists the devil's temptations he becomes pleasant to God, as when dough becomes bread through baking (2777–9). When the greedy monk changes his mind and becomes generous thanks to the admonitions of Andrew, his soul becomes like a tree full of sweet fruit (2115–23). Andrew himself is symbolized by a particularly beautiful tree in which there is a wonderful bird, half swallow, half nightingale, representing the soul (1694–709, 1749–56). By contrast the souls of the sinners are like trees that are dry and burnt, carrying thorns instead of fruit (1691f.). To the fornicator Andrew says that his soul's "axles" and his heart's spiritual legs are twisted (1926–8). The moral of this is that you cannot blame your sins on the devil. God wants you to wrestle with the demons (2774f.). On the Day of Judgment no one can help you and nothing can save you except the mercy of God and your good deeds (2283f.). Unfortunately, there is a risk that you will take pride in your good deeds. In a later passage Nikephoros therefore says that your good deeds, even your willingness, are gifts of God

<sup>17</sup> As P.J. Fedwick, "Death and Dying in Byzantine Liturgical Traditions," *EChR*, 8 (1976), 152–61, esp. 161 points out, the separation of body and soul at death is not dwelt upon to any extent in Byzantine liturgy, which instead emphasized the continuing relationship between body and soul after death.

<sup>18</sup> This kind of death was believed to be typical of sinners, cf. note 2 to 2402.

<sup>19</sup> TheophConf, *Chronographia*, 448,20.

(3627–31). Thus man seems in fact to possess free will only with regard to sin. This pessimistic view does not apply to Andrew, however, for he is said to have done his deeds of his own free will (1277–9).

A Christian is not only exposed to the temptations of the devil but also threatened by magic. With his magical art a sorcerer may bereave a Christian of the divine grace that he received at baptism and so give the devil free access to his soul. But if the magic plot is discovered and the tools used by the sorcerer are burnt, the devil must withdraw (see the story of Vigrinos, esp. line 2534ff.).

### *Man surrounded by good and evil powers*

Man is surrounded by good and evil forces fighting for his soul. The sinner does not notice that he attracts demons, but the cleaner and holier a man is, the more he becomes aware of the invisible war between good and evil that is going on around him.

We have already mentioned Andrew's visions of paradise, heaven, and the heavenly kingdom in which he met the Lord. But he also meets the Lord in earthly surroundings. Thus Christ in the guise of a young man serves as umpire when he fights the giant Ethiopian in the Hippodrome (lines 34–88). During his confinement in the church of St Anastasia he dreams that he is in a royal palace, tasting what it is like to be in the service of the king, i.e. Christ (176–217). Heaven makes itself felt on earth also in the vision of Barbara (3586ff.), in which a gate is opened in heaven and a wonderful dove comes down, bringing Andrew an olive twig from paradise.

In addition to the Lord, the following holy persons make their appearance in VA. 1. The bride of Christ, presumably the Church, appears to Andrew in a dream (2880ff.). 2. The Mother of God appears twice, once in the famous vision in the Holy Soros at Blachernae, in which she is seen accompanied by John the Forerunner and the Son of Thunder (3732–58), the other time in the oratory called Myrelaion (1474ff.). In the former instance she wears a veil, in the second she is clad in linen and purple. 3. The prophet David, grey-haired, holding a lyre and accompanied by an innumerable host, appears on a Palm Sunday in St Sophia (2648–73). 4. St John the Apostle and Theologian, whose protection Andrew enjoyed, rescues Andrew when he is attacked by the devil and the demons during his midnight prayer in the church of St Anastasia. He is described as having a bald forehead and large eyes (140ff.). Elijah, Enoch and John the Theologian are still alive, although no one recognizes them, except some righteous



men who have seen St John. They will live until they are killed by the Antichrist at the end of time (3184–98). 5. One dark night when Andrew falls into a pit, Sts Peter and Paul appearing in the guise of young men pull him out of it (1791–813). 6. St Thyrsos speaks from his icon to the wife of the blasphemer (3540–6). 7. St Akakios speaks to Epiphaneios from his tomb, appears to him in his sleep the following night in the shape of a young man, and greets him in full sight the following day, when he enters his church dressed in a red cloak (3666ff.). 8. When Andrew is imprisoned in the church of St Anastasia, the martyr appears with her fellow martyrs, like a doctor examining the sick lying there. As he had hoped, she supports his decision to become a fool for the sake of Christ (113–29). 10. When Andrew dies, all the saints come down from heaven to meet his soul (4371–3).

Each man is accompanied by a guardian angel (1327, 1976, 2300), who may look like a eunuch (1973). When the wicked rich man dies, his guardian angel follows the funeral procession, mourning, and then returns to heaven (1524–62). When Epiphaneios resists the temptation to leave the liturgy in order to look after his simmering soup, an angel, presumably his guardian angel, takes care of his soup for him (922–1000).

In a vision Andrew sees two angels (“luminaries”) investing Epiphaneios with the episcopal insignia (1610ff.). Once the latter has a dream in which an angel forces the demon of fornication to swallow a pungent drink because Epiphaneios has eaten salt in order to quench his sexual desire (2726ff.). As the adulterous deacon Raphael lies dying he sees the angels and the demons weighing his deeds (2796–8). In his admonition to the greedy monk Andrew says that the monk’s guardian angel is beginning to give way, so that the devil is already occupying the gate to his soul (2071f.).

Andrew can command the guardian angels. To the young boy who saw him open the church doors with the sign of the cross he says, “... your guardian angel will not allow you to speak, for I shall command him about this and I shall not have to worry” (1326–8). Another time he seems to give a command to his own guardian angel (1123–7).

A human being is accompanied not only by a guardian angel but also by an evil angel or a demon, who knows everything about him (1973ff., 2636–43). People tend to think that Andrew has made friends with the latter. At any rate they believe that a demon is living with him, enabling him to make predictions (262f., 364–9) and to survive when he is run over by an ox-cart (1274f.). In fact, however, Andrew has authority over the demons and the evil angels (1325f., 1415–17, 1464f.); he can even remove the marks that the demons have put on those who beat him (3575–81). This seems logical,



since in the dream at the beginning of the *Vita* he defeats the devil in single combat (34–88).

The devil knows that after the Last Judgment he will be burnt in the eternal fire but thinks that if he can bring sinners with him, the sight of their suffering will bring him relief (1072–4). Unfortunately, by being virtuous people thwart his plans. This makes him jealous (37, 752, 896, 1378, 3616f.) so that he attacks Andrew and his protégés, preferably at midnight (34–6, 132, 2559f.).

Often the devil appears in the shape of an Ethiopian (78, 134, 1800, 2090), but as mentioned above he may also assume the guise of an old woman (753) or an Arab merchant (875f.). On one occasion Nikephoros says that “the accursed demon”, i.e. the devil, brings “the unhallowed Satan” with him, although he does not explain how these two should be distinguished (1376–9, 1390, cf. 3208f.). However, when Andrew scares them away, they disappear into the air, screaming like pigs (1394–6).

Demons are made of the same stuff as angels, although unlike them they are dark and wicked (3288–95). Like the devil they appear in various shapes. The demon of fornication once appears as an evil-smelling Ethiopian with eyes like a fox and excrement instead of hair on his head (315–18), another time as a pig stinking of human excrement (2727f.). The demon of miserliness is sitting like a monkey on the miser’s shoulder (355–7). A serpent with three heads, representing miserliness, madness and heartlessness, coils itself round the neck of the miserly monk (1963–7). Thus the demons represent various temptations and weaknesses, but they also appear when a sinner is about to die, tormenting and ridiculing him (1502ff., 2792ff., 3465ff.). To Andrew the sinner himself appears to be black like a demon (3466f.).

When and how can a man get an insight into the invisible world in which he lives? Most naturally it happens during sleep when his physical senses have been put to rest so that his spiritual eyes may be opened. Thus right at the beginning of the *Vita* Andrew dreams that he defeats the devil in single combat and is crowned by Christ (42ff.). But one may also fall into ecstasy and have a vision while awake (1474ff.). Andrew is even said to fall into ecstasy while he is already having a vision (603).<sup>20</sup> Sometimes the visionary has the feeling that he or his mind is carried away to the object of his vision (1587f., 1844f., 3540–2). Thanks to his gift of discernment (1963f.) Andrew himself can see with the spiritual eye of his mind (1155f.), while most other persons’ heart or spiritual eyes or ears must be

<sup>20</sup> Ἐκστασις may also have the connotation of “excitement”; so 537f., 915, 1601, 4235f.

opened before they can perceive anything (1174, 1599, 2089, 2560, 3564f.). Occasionally the spiritual world materializes so that it can be seen with one's physical eyes (ὀφθαλμοφανῶς). This happens to Andrew at least three times (118, 133, 3737) but also a couple of times to Epiphaneios, once through the mediation of Andrew (3755f.) but another time without his help (3703ff.). Thus, when a person sees the invisible in full sight (ὀφθαλμοφανῶς) it apparently means that the invisible for a moment changes from the spiritual to the material state<sup>21</sup> and when he sees it with his inner eye it apparently means that his senses for a moment are sharpened so that he can see the immaterial.

### *The past and the future*

By definition, VA is a saint's Life, not a world chronicle or an apocalypse of the kind written by PsMethodios. Yet it reveals a certain conception of world history, in which the beginning and the end are more important than what takes place between. It is taken for granted that from the point of view of eternity world history is no more than a short parenthesis.

In the beginning, Andrew says in the *erotapokriseis*, God brought forth (ἐξαγαγὼν 2939) the Divine Word. Then he made his first creation, the aeons, for which the Word constituted the foundation (2943–8). His second creation was the heavenly hosts, which he created one by one from the aeons. Samael, one of the archangels, was envious of God. He fell from heaven and became Satan (2979ff.). God's third creation was the water and the dark regions under the earth (3009–16). Then the *erotapokriseis* take another direction, so that God's following creations are not expressly mentioned, presumably as they are well-known from Genesis.

There are two kinds of aeons, on the one hand the seven aeons of this world, each consisting of a fixed number of years, and on the other the eighth aeon which will begin with the Second Coming and last eternally. Since each aeon was believed to last 1000 years and the world to have been created about 5.500 years BC, the period between the creation of the world and the time when Andrew is said to have lived corresponds to the first six aeons. Andrew thus stands on the threshold of the last millennium. This can hardly be coincidental, although Nikephoros also has him express himself as if he lived long after the seventh aeon had begun (2961–3, 4006); in

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *VConstJud*, ed. Delehay, 640C καὶ τὸ μὲν φάντασμα παχυνθὲν (λέγεται γὰρ καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐν δαίμοσιν) ...



these cases the author confuses the fictional time with the time of composition.

Of the six first aeons only the last is represented by the names of historical persons. Nikephoros mentions Alexander the Great, who shut up the so-called filthy nations (4052f.), Antiochos, who came from Rome and destroyed Jerusalem (3097–9),<sup>22</sup> Constantine the Great, who built the church of the Holy Apostles (1794f.) and erected the column in the Forum (3560), Julian the Apostate, who sacrificed to the Pythian demon at Daphne before marching out against the Persians (4196–9) and, lastly, the Emperor Leo I (9, 110, 1847f.) and St Daniel the Stylite (1845ff.), with whom Andrew was contemporary.

From the point of view of Andrew, the seventh aeon lies in the future and ends with Resurrection. From the point of view of Nikephoros, on the other hand, it consists of two parts, namely, first, the centuries separating Andrew from himself (although he feigns to be Andrew's contemporary) and, second, the time between himself and Resurrection. In both cases Andrew naturally uses the future tense. He predicts that Epiphanius will become patriarch of CP (383–5, 4325–7), that a pious emperor will rebuild the Holy Apostles (1828f.), that Illyricum will be restored to the Roman Empire and Egypt pay its tributes (3838–40), that the Hagarenes will be humbled (3834) and that CP will be attacked by many nations (3820–2). One notices that the references to the Arab conquests and the Slavic invasions of the Balkans are indirect. One also notices that Nikephoros fails to refer to Symeon Salos (224) in the future tense, although he dates himself before this saint.

Whether Nikephoros thought that the world would last until the very end of the seventh millennium or come to an end earlier is hard to tell—on the one hand he has Andrew express himself as if the end would take place within Epiphanius' lifetime (4125–7), on the other he has him say that the seven aeons of this world have not yet been completed (2961–3), which indicates a longer perspective. In any case, his description of the dramatic events preceding Resurrection—to judge from the figures given, the drama will take at least 49 years—is a highly original piece of apocalyptic fiction. In this context three features merit particular mention. The first is that the beginning is modelled upon the beginning of Byzantine history from Constantine the Great to Jovian, which means that Nikephoros uses the events of the sixth aeon to describe those of the seventh. The second is that he refrains from telling what will happen after Resurrection so that, unlike

<sup>22</sup> On the mistake, see note 46 ad loc.



*VBaslun* and *VNiph*, *VA* does not contain a description of the Last Judgment and the Blessed taking possession of the heavenly Jerusalem. The third is that when Andrew defines the signs foreboding the end of the world and thus answers Epiphanius' most burning question, he puts the stress on the signs which appear toward the very end of the apocalyptic scenario; this obviously means that Nikephoros is reluctant to commit himself in this connection, although, if the date of composition suggested is correct, he must have been aware that he lived close to the middle of the seventh millennium, i.e. AD 1000.

### *Moral message*

Man lives in a world in which good and evil forces fight for his soul. This fight will continue until the last age, when Christ will finally defeat the Antichrist. In principle one can see the fight going on with one's spiritual eyes, but unfortunately most people's spiritual eyes are closed. Thanks to Andrew, however, the invisible world is made visible, so that the good and the bad can be seen. It becomes clear that we must flee the latter and seek the former. In the first place we must shun sexual temptations, although avarice, blasphemy and neglect of the Church are also bad. If we commit sins of this calibre, we shall die in agony, spend a most unpleasant time awaiting the Last Judgment and then suffer eternal punishment. On the other hand each sexual temptation resisted gives one crown in heaven (2765–7). Andrew himself, who is without sin, dies with a smile, is resurrected at once, and goes straight to heaven.

Nikephoros' moral ambition makes him waver between sentimentality and intolerance. He is particularly sentimental when he describes Andrew's suffering and speaks of those who will oppose the Antichrist in the last age (4092–101). He further says that Andrew removed the marks which the demons put on those who beat him (3580f.), but otherwise he does not have him show much compassion with sinners. In fact Nikephoros repeatedly stresses the terrible fate awaiting the sinner. The reader has the feeling that he had better live like a saint if he does not want to be doomed to eternal punishment.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> For a thorough investigation of the edifying aspects of *VA*, see Grosdidier de Matons, "Thèmes", esp. 302ff.

## The Majuscule Fragment

The cod. gr. 443 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, a paper codex of the 14th century containing a Metaphrastian Menologion for September and October and a few homilies on the Virgin Mary and the Cross of the Lord, is provided with flyleaves consisting of eight parchment folios.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of this century A. Ehrhard discovered that the text contained in these flyleaves, written in majuscule hand, derives from VA. He also observed that the modern foliation is faulty and stated that the flyleaves in question constitute a full quire of a MS written in the 10th century and originally containing a complete version of VA, remarking that it probably did not contain any other text.<sup>2</sup> If this last remark is correct, it follows that the leaves probably formed the tenth quire of a MS consisting of twenty quires, i.e., 160 folios, or 320 pages.<sup>3</sup>

In 1910 the fragment, which corresponds to lines 1880–2100 of the present edition, was published by Sara Murray, a pupil of K. Krumbacher. She found it important and therefore named it A, although she was at a loss to explain why it was written in majuscule hand and unable to tell what role it plays in the MS tradition, except that it is older than any other MS known to contain VA.<sup>4</sup>

In a paper published in 1978 I suggested that A is in fact a fragment of the autograph.<sup>5</sup> As appears from what I have said above I see no reason to withdraw this suggestion. On the contrary, if we assume that A is a surviving part of the autograph, all pieces of evidence fall into place. First, the text of A makes a genuine impression. It cannot be derived from any other version known to me, nor does it contain any lacunas or other mistakes obviously due to a careless copyist. Second, the date of A, which is unlikely to be earlier than the middle of the 10th century and later than the very beginning of the 11th, suits the idea that VA was written towards the end of the reign of Constantine VII. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that it was written in CP. Third, the majuscule hand suits the fic-

---

<sup>1</sup> Hardt, *Catalogus*, IV, 371–85; Van de Vorst–Delehay, *Catalogus*, 130–2.

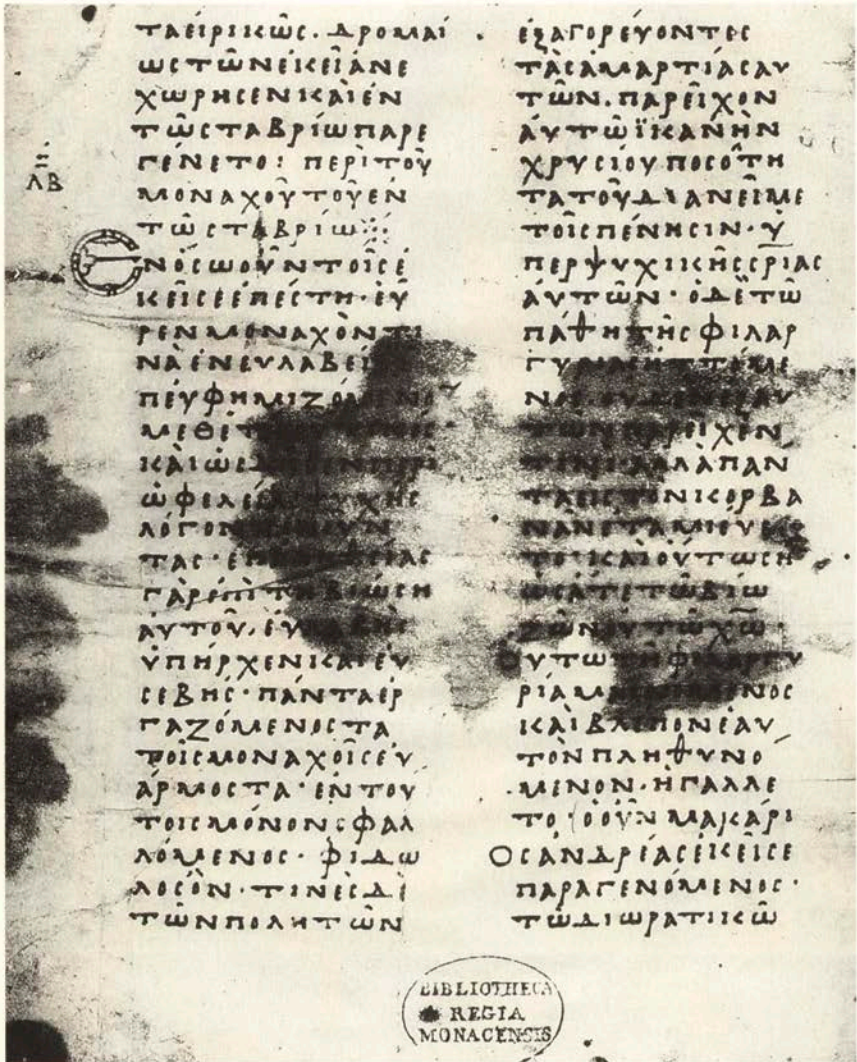
<sup>2</sup> Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, I, 81f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rydén, “Date”, 132.

<sup>4</sup> Murray, *A Study*, 81f., 106–11; cf. Maas, “Review”, 317.

<sup>5</sup> Rydén, “Date”, 132–4.





Monacensis gr. 443, majuscule fragment, col. IV<sup>a</sup>, cf. lines 1950–63.

tion that Nikephoros had known Andrew personally and consequently lived before the introduction of minuscule writing.

If one accepts the idea that A is part of the autograph one might consider editing it in diplomatic fashion. I shall not do so, however, partly because a diplomatic edition would make inconvenient reading,<sup>6</sup> partly because A

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the accents, cf. E. Trapp in *JÖB*, 37 (1987), 389.



represents only 1/20 of the whole text, so that in any case most of VA must be edited in the usual way. I shall describe it in some detail, however, supporting my description with a picture.<sup>7</sup>

### *Original order of the leaves*

The original order of the eight folios was VIII, IX, IV, V, VI, VII, X, XI, so that the fragment starts on fol. VIII with ση τὸν ἥλιον ὁ δὲ συνιῆς τὰ ῥηθέντα αὐτῷ (1880) and ends on fol. XI<sup>v</sup> with τῷ θρίνω ὀλοφυρόμενος ὤχετο· εὐθέως δὲ καὶ παραχρήμα ἄπε (2100). The reason for this disorder is that the two innermost leaves of the quire were removed and placed at the beginning of the MS, while the two uttermost were put at the end.

### *Size*

The present size of the folios is 20 x 20,5 cm., but originally they seem to have been somewhat larger.<sup>8</sup> The upper margin is smaller than the lower.

### *Parchment*

The parchment is rather thick and stiff. It can by no means be compared with the thin, smooth parchment of the luxury MSS produced at CP in the same period.<sup>9</sup>

### *Ink*

The text itself was written with a kind of ink that has now become deep brown. The chapter heading, initial, chapter number and starlike ornament, however, were written with red ink, apparently by the same hand.

### *Ornamentation*

The initial epsilon of ch. 32 in the left column of fol. IV<sup>v</sup> may be described as a simplified version of the very elegant initial epsilon appearing in cod. Phillipps 1538 of the Preuss. Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, fol. 29, probably written for Constantine Porphyrogenetos, which can be studied in Weitz-

<sup>7</sup> Many of the observations that follow, as well as the picture, have already been presented in Rydén, "Date", 132–4 and 153.

<sup>8</sup> See Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, I, 81, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> On coarse parchment used in popular books, see Krumbacher, *Der hl. Georg*, 250. Among his examples is cod. Athen. 1000 (no. 11 in the "Testimonies and *Nachleben*").

mann, *Buchmalerei*, pl. XXI, 114. In the same MS, fols. 8<sup>v</sup> and 9<sup>v</sup>, there is an initial epsilon even more similar to the one in A. It is thicker and looks as if it had been drawn with a compass. Other matching epsilons may be found in the cod. Dionysiou 70, written in 955 by the notarios Nikephoros for Constantine Porphyrogennetos' brother-in-law Basil,<sup>10</sup> and in the famous Parisinus gr. 70, a small gospel book supposedly written in 964,<sup>11</sup> fol. 308. The ornamental epsilon in the form it has in A therefore seems to fit the middle or second half of the 10th century better than any other period. The star at the end of the chapter heading is a variant of the stars adorning the cod. Parisinus gr. 70, the cod. Phillipps 1538 and many other luxury MSS of the period. But as stars are common ornaments also in later MSS it does not yield a reliable chronological clue.<sup>12</sup>

### *Ruling*

Each leaf was ruled before it was folded to form two folios. The ruling therefore extends to the very end of the right margin of the verso and begins at the innermost part of the left margin of the recto. The left border of the left column of the verso and the right border of the right column of the recto are marked by two lines. There is also an extra line in the lower margin. Otherwise the borders of the columns are marked by only one line. The ruling of the recto may be summarized by the formula 11C2b according to Leroy, *Types de réglure*.<sup>13</sup>

### *The position of the writing*

The writing is under the line. According to Leroy, the first example of a MS in which the writing has this position belongs to the year 924, whereas the position of the writing on the line indicates that the MS is older than c. 950.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Lake, *Dated Minuscule Manuscripts*, III, pl. 154.

<sup>11</sup> Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei*, 14. Cf., however, J. Irigoin, "Une écriture du X<sup>e</sup> siècle: la minuscule bouletée," in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), 191–9, esp. 193, who thinks that the Parisinus gr. 70 was written by the same hand as the Parisinus gr. 139, dated to the beginning of the 10th century. If he is right, it must be earlier than 964.

<sup>12</sup> For stars as a decorative element in Byzantine art in general, see Ch. Bouras, "The Byzantine Bronze Doors of the Great Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos," *JÖB*, 24 (1975), 229–50, esp. 239.

<sup>13</sup> For doubts concerning the value of ruling as a codicological criterion, see Diller, "Age", 515 and K. Treu's remarks in his review of H. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz* (Munich, 1989), *JÖB*, 40 (1990), 424.

<sup>14</sup> Leroy, "Manuscrits grecs en minuscule", 36f.

*The density of the writing*

The amount of text contained in one column of A is unusually low. The right column of fol. IV<sup>v</sup>, reproduced here, contains no more than c. 335 letters, whereas the right column of fol. VIII contains about 400 letters. A look at contemporary minuscule MSS with two columns, similar size and the same number of lines (28) shows that they usually contain 500 or more letters per column. On the other hand, the number of letters contained in each line is more or less the same as that contained in the lines of the archaizing three-column sections of the so-called Bible of Niketas, produced at CP in the latter half of the 10th century.<sup>15</sup>

*Divisions*

With uneven intervals the first letter of a line has been placed in the margin, thus marking the beginning of a new paragraph. It is hard to see any system in this arrangement, however, for sometimes it suits the context, sometimes not. The same applies to the division into chapters. It is natural that a new chapter begins at 1952, but why, for instance, is there nothing to indicate the beginning of a new episode at 1919?

*Writing*

The writing may be characterized as a simplified form of the so-called *Auszeichnungs-Majuskel*, named and analyzed by H. Hunger.<sup>16</sup> Hunger distinguishes three variants of this majuscle, Alexandrian, Constantinopolitan and epigraphic. While A has nothing in common with the last variant, one may hesitate whether its writing should be classed as Alexandrian or Constantinopolitan. Although the *delta*, *kappa* and *upsilon* appear to be Constantinopolitan rather than Alexandrian, for the time being it may be best to refrain from a definite classification.<sup>17</sup>

The vertical stroke of the letters *rho*, *phi* and *psi* ends with a characteristic left hook. A similar hook sometimes also appears in the *Auszeichnungsschrift* of other MSS, e.g. in the cod. Dionysiou 70 and the Bible of Niketas.

The breathings are small and most often rounded, less often angular and seldom in the form of one half of the letter H. Thus A belongs to a transitional period between angular and rounded breathings. In the combinations

<sup>15</sup> The first 28 lines in Belting–Cavallo, *Bibel des Niketas*, fig. 13 contain about 350 letters.

<sup>16</sup> Hunger, "Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften", esp. 204ff.

<sup>17</sup> The classification in Rydén, "Date", 132 should be modified accordingly.



αυ, ευ and ου the breathing is usually written over the first vowel. There are a few double accents, e.g. fol. IV<sup>v</sup>, col. 2, line 9 (see photo).

### Spelling

The movable *nu* is regularly used before consonants as well as before vowels.<sup>18</sup> At the end of the lines the *nu* is often substituted by a horizontal stroke. The spelling of the consonants usually agrees with the ancient standard. The exceptions I have noticed are Σταβρίω for Σταυρίω (twice in the reproduced fol.),<sup>19</sup> ἀσπλαχνίας for ἀσπλαγχνίας,<sup>20</sup> βδέλλυγμα for βδέλυγμα, οἴμοι for οἶμοι, ἡλιμμένον for εἰλημένον and τὲ for δὲ after a movable *nu* (fol. VIII, col. 2). As for the vowels the aberrations from traditional orthography are far more common. In fols. IV<sup>v</sup>–X (= 8 pages) I have noticed the following: ε for αι (18 times), αι for ε (1), ο for ω (9), ω for ο (5), ι for ει (14), ει for ι (3), ι for η (8), η for ι (5), η for ει (20), ει for η (2), οι for υ (1); the last is matched by an υ for οι on fols. IX and XI (τύχον for τοῖχον and μυχοί for μοιχοί).<sup>21</sup> On three occasions the author corrects himself by adding an omitted letter above the line. He thus corrects ἀλληνάλως (fol. IX, col. 1 = line 1909), βλέπεις (fol. IV, col. 2 = line 1949), and νενομισμένη (fol. VII, col. 1 = line 2034) into ἀλληνάλλως, βλέπεις and νενομισμένης. On the other hand, in the case of παρνοις (fol. VIII<sup>v</sup>, col. 1 = line 1900), where he puts a *theta* over the *rho*, he probably applies a current form of suspension.<sup>22</sup> The λευσχήμονα on fol. VI, col. 2 (= line 2001) is probably an example of false etymology rather than of incorrect spelling. Finally there are a number of *nomina sacra*: ἄνος, θς, ις, κς, μισανος, φιλανος, φιτανία, πηρ, πνα, ἔστρωσας, σρια, χς. There is no iota adscript.

### Style and grammar

The vocabulary of A contains a few words or word forms and expressions which might be classed as low style. Two of them, ἀσπλαχνία for ἀσπλαγχνία 1967 and λευσχήμων for λευχείμων 2001, have already been

<sup>18</sup> Exceptions: fol. VIII, col. 2 τοῖς ὁδοῦσι συντρίβεσθαι, fol. IX, col. 1 τοῖς θέλουσι μαθεῖν, fol. IX, col. 2 γέγονασι χρηστοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. V. Beševliev, "Sprachliches aus byzantinischen Bleisiegeln," *JÖB*, 30 (1981), 63–74, esp. 65.

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted, however, that ἀσπλα is at the end of the line, followed by χνίας on the next, and that after ἀσπλα there is a dot, which may stand for γ (fol. V, col. 1).

<sup>21</sup> It is doubtful whether Σινάτον (1921) should be mentioned in this context, as the spelling with *iota* appears to have been normal, see Psaltes, *Grammatik*, 18, who quotes the *Book of Ceremonies*, and also the indices to Preger, *Scriptores*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Haldon, *Three Treatises*, 76, esp. the abbreviations for συνηθειῶν and λογοθέτης.

mentioned. In addition to these we also find: ἄς followed by the aorist indicative expressing a wish 1896–8; σάσσω ‘dance’ 1921, probably borrowed from *VSymSal* (cf. above); σκνιπεύομαι ‘be miserly’ 2061 (cf. fol. V, col. 1 = line 1966 τῆς κνηπίας, which perhaps should be understood as τῆς σκνιπίας); ἐκτάσσω ‘collect dues’ in the sense of ‘punish’ 2092, which seems to be an expression borrowed from the vocabulary for tax collecting; finally ὡς νύκτα καχέσπερος 2051, where καχέσπερος is a pun on ἀνέσπερος, common in comparable literature, while νύκτα prefigures the Modern Greek word for ‘night’. Otherwise the vocabulary corresponds to 10th century-Koine standards.<sup>23</sup>

The dative is by no means extinct, although there are quite a number of instances in which it has been replaced by the accusative: κατὰ θεμά σε 1912, εἶπεν αὐτόν 1945, δουλεύοντες αὐτόν 2084f., ἐντελοῦμαι τοῦτον 2092 (in the last three cases the accusative is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, a fact that may have contributed to making the accusative seem preferable to the dative), τὸν διάβολον θυσίαν προσφέροντα 1929f., θλίψις με ... καθέστηκε 2045f. In two instances, however, the dative stands for an accusative: ἀρνήσω κόσμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ 2065f. and μάτην παρεδρεύεις τῷ μοναχῷ καὶ φυλάττεις αὐτῷ 1977. In the latter case the dative is obviously a slip caused by the preceding τῷ μοναχῷ; in the printed text I have taken the liberty of correcting αὐτῷ to αὐτόν.

In addition to the trivial confusion of the expressions for ‘being at a place’ and ‘coming to a place’ it may be mentioned that in the folio reproduced here the prepositions ἐν and ἐπὶ have been used incorrectly also when they do not refer to direction or location. Thus in the first column ἐν εὐλαβείᾳ ἐπευφημιζόμενον (line 1953) stands for ἐπ’εὐλαβείᾳ εὐφημιζόμενον<sup>24</sup> and ἐπὶ τῇ βιώσει αὐτοῦ εὐλαβῆς ὑπῆρχε (line 1955) for ἐν τῇ βιώσει etc.

Further there is an aorist subjunctive expressing future tense (ἴδω 1882), and once an indicative replaces a subjunctive (μὴ ... καθέστηκας ‘don’t ...’ 2039). The handling of the participles indicates uncertainty of their function. In the sentence εὔρε μοναχόν τινα ἐν εὐλαβείᾳ ἐπευφημιζόμενον μεθ’ετέρου τινὸς καὶ ... λόγον κινούντας (1953–5) one would like to blot out the καὶ and the -ς in κινούντας. The participles παραγενόμενος and κοσμούμενος 1963f. are coordinated by a τε, although coordination is against their sense, and the participle ἀποκριθεὶς 1998 is coordinated with the finite verb φησί. On the other hand, the sentence ὡς ἔχων ἔθος ποτὲ μὲν τρέχειν, ποτὲ δὲ σάσσειν, γενόμενος κατέναντι τῆς ... πύλης ...

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Rydén, “Revised Version”, esp. 490.

<sup>24</sup> As in *VNicolStud*, PG 105, 908B ἐπ’εὐλαβείᾳ ... φημιζόμενον.



κατεσκόπει τοὺς ... 1920–2 would become much more clear if the infinitives were replaced by participles: ὡς ἔχων ἔθος, ποτὲ μὲν τρέχων, ποτὲ δὲ σάσσων, γενόμενος ... κατεσκόπει ...

Two seemingly grave errors may be explained if they are seen in the light of other passages that may have served as models. The first is 2028f. προέλαβεν ἔν τινι τόπῳ, δι' ἧς ἐμελλεν ὁ μοναχὸς διέρχεσθαι, where a feminine relative pronoun refers to a masculine antecedent. The error probably derives from the influence of Luke 19:4–5 Καὶ (Σακχαῖος) προδραμὼν εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ συκομορέαν, ἵνα ἴδῃ αὐτόν (i.e. τὸν Ἰησοῦν), ὅτι ἐκείνης (v.l. δι' ἐκείνης) ἤμελλεν διέρχεσθαι. καὶ ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ...<sup>25</sup> The other is in the sentence τί θέλεις σὺ τὸ χρυσίον, ὃπερ καὶ μετὰ θάνατόν σου οἷς οὐ θέλεις ἢ καὶ ἐχθροί σου τοῦτο κληρονομήσουσιν; 2056f. This thought, which appears as early as in the Septuagint (Eccl. 2:18; 6:2), seems to have become a topos in hagiography, cf. *VAnt*, PG 26, 869A ἀλλ' ὅστερον ἀποθνήσκοντες καταλιμπάνομεν αὐτὰ πολλάκις καὶ οἷς οὐ θέλομεν, ὡς ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής, *VPhilar*, BHG 1512, ed. Vasiliev, 81,32f. (do not leave riches behind you when you die) ἵνα μὴ ἐν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῖς τρυφήσουσιν ἀλλότριοι· ἔστι πολλάκις καὶ οἷς οὐ θέλετε τοῦτον (i.e. τὸν πλοῦτον) ἔατε. These parallels indicate that the author took over οἷς οὐ θέλομεν from a literary model without adjusting it to the new grammatical context. It is an error of a kind that can easily be attributed to the author himself, especially as the sense is clear.

Let us now relate this description to the question of the role of A in the MS tradition. Obviously, some of the observations made above fail to throw light on this question, viz. those concerning the order and size of the leaves and the ink, ruling and divisions. Other details, however, may have more relevance. Thus the initial epsilon, the breathings and the position of the writing under the line are important indications of the date of A, while the coarse parchment, the careless spelling and the sometimes shaky grammar fit the folkloric character of the Vita. The uneconomic spaciousness of the writing makes one wonder whether anyone other than the author himself would have sacrificed so much parchment in order to have a copy of VA. It is further worth noting that A was not written in liturgical uncial, which was still used for copying holy texts, but in *Auszeichnungsschrift* which, as the term says, was used to emphasize certain passages, not to write entire books.

<sup>25</sup> As remarked in Rydén, "Date", 133, note 32, I owe this reference to Prof. J. Blomqvist.



As I have already mentioned several times, I think the explanation why A is written in majuscule hand is that Nikephoros was pretending to be a contemporary of Andrew's and therefore decided to write in a way that did not openly contradict this make-believe. However, we have now seen that the writing in A is in fact not modelled upon Early Byzantine majuscule writing but upon Middle Byzantine *Auszeichnungsschrift*, and that it also contains other elements which are anachronistic from the point of view of the fiction, among them breathings of the 10th century and double accents of the 9th century and later.<sup>26</sup> Yet I do not think that this invalidates my understanding of the function of the majuscule hand. The historical setting of VA contains so many inconsistencies that it would be astonishing if Nikephoros had been consistent and careful in this particular case. The majuscule writing is part of this ambivalence. It is a pastiche comparable with the pseudo-learned jargon of the philosophers line 821ff. Rather than being intended as a proof it was, it appears to me, intended as a sign or an indication of an early date.<sup>27</sup>

Here again it might be helpful to compare the late 10th-century so-called Bible of Niketas, mentioned above. According to G. Cavallo,<sup>28</sup> this Bible edition was copied from a now lost MS written at CP in 535. It is archaizing in several respects. The introductory texts (*protheoriai*) are written in three columns and with Alexandrian majuscules. The texts in the margins form columns and figures. The miniatures are Justinianic in character. Even the subscription, containing the date 535, has been copied. The main text, on the other hand, is written in a fine *Perlschrift* of the late 10th century, and the miniatures are surrounded by 10th-century frames. Thus the Bible of Niketas is not a forgery but an antiquarian luxury product, according to Cavallo intended to bring the 6th and 10th centuries together.<sup>29</sup> Some of the results of this analysis have been challenged by J. Lowden,<sup>30</sup> who regards the subscription as a later addition and thinks that the majuscule writing was modelled on contemporary *Auszeichnungsschrift* rather than on the Alexandrian majuscule of the 5th–6th centuries. This would fit my understanding of the kind of writing appearing in A. However, whatever the model, it seems clear that the writing of the Bible

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Reil, "Akzentuation", 482f.

<sup>27</sup> Unaware of these considerations I. Ševčenko in a letter similarly suggested that the majuscule hand in A may have been intended as a pastiche of pre-minuscule writing.

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit. (*supra*, note 15), 15.

<sup>29</sup> Op. cit., 28f.

<sup>30</sup> J. Lowden, "An Alternative Interpretation of the Manuscripts of Niketas," *Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 559–74; *idem*, *Illuminated Prophet Books* (University Park–London, 1988), esp. 16 and 18.

of Niketas as well as that of A was intended to give an Early Byzantine impression.

I said above that Nikephoros used the same artifice as Photios did when he wrote his famous prophecy concerning Basil I in Alexandrian letters—the question whether the story in *Vlgn* is true or not does not concern us here. It should be borne in mind, however, that Photios forged a small document, which he used for a very definite purpose, whereas Nikephoros wrote a long literary text with a much more complicated aim, in which a wish to entertain fused with the ambition to inform and edify. Moreover, Photios was an immensely learned man who could easily be credited with the ability to imitate ancient writing—he must have seen hundreds of majuscule codices—, whereas Nikephoros' formal education was minimal. To be fair one must therefore reckon with the possibility that Nikephoros did not master the minuscule script, which was more complicated and therefore required more training than the majuscule. If this is true the script matched the fiction more or less by coincidence. Yet even so it seems unlikely that Nikephoros was unaware of the advantage of the majuscule in this context.

How did the author's contemporaries react to the chronological fiction? Did they believe in it, or did they just regard it as a literary trick? Probably they did not distinguish clearly between the two possibilities, or rather, unlike us, did not ask so many questions. Later, however, there is no doubt that readers believed that Nikephoros' story was true. This is demonstrated by the encomium on Gennadios I, bishop of CP (458–71), written in Cyprus by Neophytos the Recluse (1134–after 1214),<sup>31</sup> who had a wall painting of Andrew in his cell.<sup>32</sup> In this document Gennadios is presented as a contemporary of Leo the Great, Daniel the Stylite and Andrew the Fool.<sup>33</sup> Of course, we have no reason to believe that A was known to Neophytos. But it is interesting to note that there came a time when A was taken apart and its parchment reused, as happened with many old majuscule MSS, the texts of which had been translated into minuscule.

<sup>31</sup> Ed. by H. Delehayé in *AB*, 26 (1907), 221–8.

<sup>32</sup> See further under "Testimonies and *Nachleben*".

<sup>33</sup> Ed. cit., 221, 29ff.; cf. Delehayé's remarks on p. 295. The same synchronisms but minus Andrew the Fool appear in the *Life* of St Elizabeth the Thaumaturge, *BHG* 2121, ed. F. Halkin, *AB*, 91 (1973), 251–64, esp. 258, a *Vita* probably written in the 13th century, see A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," 16, *Byzantion*, 56 (1986), 169f.



## Other Manuscripts used for this Edition Their Value

In addition to A there are over 100 MSS containing VA or parts thereof. These MSS may be looked upon from two different angles. On the one hand they may be considered from the point of view of A. In this case they bear witness to the lasting success and viability of VA. This way of looking at the MS material, however, belongs to a postscript rather than to an introduction. All MSS other than A will therefore be accounted for in a separate chapter, called "Testimonies and *Nachleben*". On the other hand the MSS may be considered from the point of view of the textual critic anxious to reconstruct the contents of the 19 quires, or 95%, of A that have disappeared. This is the position taken in this chapter.

The majority of the MSS are late and contain more or less free versions, some of them in Modern Greek. Obviously the study of these MSS does not contribute much to the reconstruction of the original form of VA, although it sheds light on how VA was read and transmitted long after CP had been captured by the Turks. For the purpose of restoring the full text of VA I have therefore concentrated on the oldest MSS. Among them I have made a further selection in order not to overload the apparatus criticus. Here is a catalogue of the MSS thus chosen.<sup>1</sup>

### B (12)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. hist. gr. 123: paper, 14th c. (fols. 1–95), 20 x 13 cm., 1 col., 29 lines.

VA fols. 1–95<sup>v</sup>. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ, συγγραφεῖς παρὰ Νικηφόρου ἱερέως τῆς

---

<sup>1</sup> After siglum and number (within brackets) in the complete list of MSS, the catalogue is intended to give the following information: parchment or paper, date, number of columns, number of lines per column, the location of the VA text in the MS, its title (if any), its beginning and end with indication of the corresponding lines in the present edition, and, finally, references to the most important catalogues and other publications in which the MS in question has been described. In reality, however, I have not always been able to produce this information in full.



ἀγιωτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἐπωνύμου τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας. *Inc.* Βίον θεάρεστον καὶ πολιτείαν ἄμεμπτον ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου ὃ φίλτατοι βούλομαι ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαι. *Des.* ἃ μὲν καὶ οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐώρακα· ἃ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ γεγονότος ἐνθάδε ἀρχιερέως μεμάθηκα· καὶ τῷδε τῷ συγγράμματι ἐνέταξα· χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Whole Life.

Cf. Murray, *A Study*, 128ff.; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 949; Hunger, *Katalog* (Vienna, 1961), 125f.

# M (23)

Lesbos, Γυμνάσιον Μυτιλήνης, cod. 37: paper, late 15th c., 259 fols., 19 x 13 cm., 1 col., 23 lines.

VA fols. 1–146. Title: Διήγησις τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ. *Inc.* Βίον εὐάρεστον καὶ πολιτείαν ἄμεμπτον ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου, ὃ φίλτατοι, βούλομαι ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαι. *Des.* ἃ μὲν καὶ οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐώρακα, ἃ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ γεγονότος ἐνθάδε ἀρχιερέως μεμάθηκα· καὶ τῷδε τῷ συγγράμματι ἐνέταξα· χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. Whole Life.

Cf. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαυρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη*, 143f.

# L (50)

Istanbul, Πατριαρχικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, cod. Παναγίας 130: paper, a. 1616, 157 fols., 20 x 15 cm., 1 col., 20 lines.

VA fols. 2–139<sup>v</sup>. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ. *Inc.* Βίον θεάρεστον καὶ πολιτείαν ἄμεμπτον ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου, ὃ φίλτατοι, βούλομαι ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαι. *Des.* ἃ μὲν καὶ οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐώρακα, ἃ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ γεγονότος ἐνθάδε ἀρχιερέως μεμάθηκα καὶ τῷδε τῷ συγγράμματι ἐνέταξα· χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. Whole Life.

Cf. E. Tsakopoulos, *Περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριαρχείου. Πρῶτον τμήμα χειρογράφων Παναγίας Καμαριωτίσσης* (Istanbul, 1953), 181–3; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 950.

## P (2)

Athens, Ἑθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, cod. 1014: a) fols. 2–8 late paper. b) fols. 9–160 parchment, 11th c., 24 x 18 cm., 1 col., 22 lines. The MS once belonged to the Dousikou (or Douskou) monastery near Trikkala.<sup>2</sup>

VA a) fols. 2–8<sup>v</sup>. *Inc.* ὑπὲρ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην σεμνοτέροις χιτῶσι περιβέβληται. *Des.* ἔξυπνος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ μακάριος συνετήρει πάντα καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο τί ἂν εἴη ταῦτα. Corresponding to lines 28–217. This fragment, which has been added to make up for the loss of the first quire of the original MS, will not be considered here.

b) fols. 9–112<sup>v</sup>. *Inc.* πάντα καὶ ἐξεπλήττετο περὶ τῆς ἀπολύσεως αὐτοῦ· μετὰ δὲ ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν. *Des.* ὃν καὶ οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑώρακα· ἃ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίου Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ γεγονότος ἐνθάδε ἀρχιερέως μεμάθηκα· καὶ τῷδε τῷ συγγράμματι κατέταξα· χάριτι καὶ φιланθρωπία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Corresponding to line 217–end.

Cf. Sakkelion, *Katálogoz*, 181; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 921f.; Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, 1, XXVIIff.; Rosenqvist, “Der Text”, 163–74; *idem*, *Studien zur Syntax und Bemerkungen zum Text der Vita Theodori Syceotae* (Uppsala, 1981), 93f.; Halkin, *Catalogue*, 84.

## K (8)

Athens, Ἑθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, cod. 2419 (previously Μονὴ Κοσινίτισης, cod. 280): parchment, a. 1293,<sup>3</sup> 159 fols., 18 x 11,5 cm., 1 col., 28 lines. Written by the monk Paisios.

VA fols. 1–159. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν γενομένου σαλοῦ. *Inc.* Βίον θεάρεστον καὶ πολιτείαν ἁμειπτον ἄνδρὸς ἐναρέτου ὃ φίλτατοι φιλακροάμονες τὰ τῶν καλῶς (?,

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 161, which is of paper, contains the remark that “in the days of our holy Father Neophytos, nephew of the holy Bessarion and owner of this monastery” the MS was brought from CP, where it had been written during the reign of the Emperor Leo the Great. But of course the MS cannot have been written in the reign of Leo I (457–74); the anonymous annotator must be referring to the fact that VA, the first text in the MS, is said to have been composed in the reign of this emperor. In fact, in the following he specifies that the MS was written in the year 6583 after the Creation (i.e. 1074/5), or AD 1071. The statement that it derives from CP may be based on the same loose foundation, namely the fact that VA was composed there, so that the question of the real origin of the MS remains open. The monastery in question was founded in 1515 by Bessarion, who later became archbishop of Larissa.

<sup>3</sup> According to Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ehrhard and Polites (see below) the MS was written ἐτους 7308, i.e. in the year 6804, but according to my own notes the scribe says that he is writing ἐτους 7301, i.e. in the year 6801, corresponding to AD 1293.



follow five letters which I cannot read) βούλομαι διηγῆσασθαι ὑμῖν. *Des.* ἃ <μὲν καὶ οἱ> κείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑώρακ <α, ἃ δὲ καὶ> παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ γεγονότος ἐνταῦθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου μεμάθηκα· ἐν Χ<ρισ>τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ <τὸ κρά>τος καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις· σὺν <τῷ ἄν>ἀρχῳ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Whole Life.

Cf. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἐκθεσις*, 37; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 949; Halkin, *Catalogue*, 126; L. Polites, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδας ἀρ. 1857–2500* (Athens, 1991), 418.

### C (5)

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 2010: parchment, 12th c., 235 fols., 24,5 x 17 cm., 1 col., 26 lines. Provenance: Calabria.

VA fols. 1–129<sup>v</sup>. Title: Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν γεγονώτος σαλοῦ ἐπὶ (?) τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς τῇ μνήμῃ βασιλέως Λέοντος (?) συγγραφῆς παρὰ Νικηφόρου ... The rest of the title is illegible, and so is the *incipit*. *Des.* ἃ καὶ οἰκίοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑώρακα (sic), ἃ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ γεγονότος ἐνθάδε ἀρχιεπισκόπου μεμάθηκα· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. Whole Life.

Cf. Hagiographi Bollandiani and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae* [SubsHag, 7] (Brussels, 1899), 183; Murray, *A Study*, 68; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 785; R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie Méridionale* (Città del Vaticano, 1955), 23.

### V (57)

Sinai, Μονὴ Αἰκατερίνης, cod. gr. 543: paper, a. 1630, 186 fols., 19 x 15 cm., 1 col., 20 lines.

VA fols. 1–185<sup>v</sup>. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ. συγγραφεῖς παρὰ Νικηφόρου ἱερέως τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας. *Inc.* Βίον θεάρεστον καὶ πολιτείαν ἁμεμπτον ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου, ᾧ φίλτατοι, βούλομαι ἡμῖν (sic) διηγῆσασθαι. *Des.* ἅπερ ἃ μὲν οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑώρακα, ἃ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ γεγονότος ἐνταῦθα ἀρχιεπισκόπου μεμάθηκα καὶ τῷδε τῷ συγγράμματι ἐνέταξα, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι <ἡ δόξα> νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Whole Life.



Cf. A. Vasiliev, "Zamětki o někotorych grečeskich rukopisjach žitij svjatych na Sinaě," *VizVrem*, 14 (1907), 276–333, esp. 330f.; Benešević, *Catalogus*, I, 193f.; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 950, note 3.

## D (3)

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 1574: parchment, 11th–12th c., 170 fols., 21 x 14,5 cm., 1 col., 24 lines. The MS appears to have been written on the island of Zakynthos by a scribe hailing from Taranto.

VA fols. 6–169<sup>v</sup>. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ, τοῦ εἰς τὸ Βυζάντειον τῆς Θεοφυλάκτου πόλεως ποιήσαντος ἑαυτὸν παραπαίοντα. *Inc.* Βίον τινὸς ἐναρέτου ἀνδρὸς ὃ φίλτατοι μέλλοντός μου διηγῆσασθαι. *Des.* ἃ καὶ οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑώρακα, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ ἀοιδίου τοῦ γεγονότος ἀρχιερέως μεμάθηκα, καὶ τῷδε τῷ συγγράμματι συνέταξα· χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ δόξα ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Whole Life. Main source of the Bolandist edition.

Cf. C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1485–1683* (Città del Vaticano, 1950), 176–8; Murray, *A Study*, 68; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 949; P. Canart, *Les Vaticani Graeci 1487–1962* (Rome, 1979), 165; Lake, *Dated Minuscule Manuscripts*, VIII, pl. 595.<sup>4</sup>

## E (14)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. gr. 552: paper, 14th c., 193 fols., 20,5 x 13 cm., 1 col., 23–25 lines.

VA fols. 1–193<sup>v</sup>. Title: Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τὸν (sic) διὰ Χριστὸν σαλός. *Inc.* Βίον θεάρεστον καὶ πολιτείαν ἄμεμπτον ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου, ὃ φίλτατοι, μέλλοντός μου διηγῆσασθαι. *Des.* ἃ καὶ οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑώρακα, ἃ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίου Ἐπιφανίου ... Whole Life, end mutilated.

Cf. Hardt, *Catalogus*, V, 404; Murray, *A Study*, 66f.; Van de Vorst–Delehay, *Catalogus*, 141; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 949.

<sup>4</sup> In the plate are represented fol. 129 (old folio number), corresponding to lines 3428 (εἶπεν)—3444 (τούτους), and fol. 5 (the colophon with the date 1190, "which may not have been part of the original manuscript").

## R (10)

Mount Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου, cod. 229: parchment, 13th c., 309 fols.,<sup>5</sup> 34 x 25 cm., 1 col., 30 lines.

VA fols. 209<sup>v</sup>–220<sup>v</sup>. Title: 'Εκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν <σαλοῦ>. *Inc.* ταῦτα τοῦ δικαίου εἰπόντος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐπιφάνιος· δέομαί σου εἰ εὖρον χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου· ἀπάγγελόν μοι ποταπὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. *Des.* καὶ γὰρ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ οὐ συνήκαν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο τὸ τῶν ἐλαχίστων νηπίων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος σοφισθέντων. Corresponding to lines 2893–3452.

Cf. Eustratiades–Arcadios, *Catalogue*, 49f.

## F (7)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, cod. gr. 1547: paper, a. 1286, 259 fols., 24,5 x 18 cm., 2 cols., 26 lines.

VA fols. 158–249<sup>v</sup>. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ συγγραφεῖς παρὰ Νικηφόρου ἱερέως τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἁγιωτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας. *Inc.* Βίον θεάρεστον καὶ πολιτείαν ἄμειπτον ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου ᾧ φίλτατοι βουλόμενος ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι. *Des.* τὰ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ, οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑωρακῶς, τὰ δὲ μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπιφάνιου τοῦ καὶ γεγονότως ἀρχιερέως ὕστερον· ὥς ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου πρόρρησις ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὗ ταῖς πρεσβείαις τύχοιμεν ἐλέους ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως· χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Whole Life in a free, slightly abridged version. Between fols. 218 and 219 a number of fols. are missing, corresponding to καὶ ὑπερηκόντισαν 2797 ... ἕτερος θησαυρός 3123. Additional source of the Bollandist edition.

Cf. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris*, 206; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 924; Murray, *A Study*, 71f.; Ch. Astruc and others, *Les manuscrits grecs datés des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France. I. XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1989), 53–6.

## Y (36)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, cod. Lincoln. gr. 21: paper, a. 1586 (fols. 95<sup>v</sup>–160), 161 fols., 15 x 10 cm., 2 cols., 32 lines. Written by Michael Andristos.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In fact 308 fols. at the most, since no. 216 follows no. 214, although no leaf is missing.

<sup>6</sup> On this scribe, see Gamillscheg–Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, 148f.



VA fols. 95<sup>v</sup>–158. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου, τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ. *Inc.* Βίον θεάρεστον καὶ πολιτείαν ἄμειπτον ἀνδρὸς δικαίου καὶ ἐναρέτου ᾧ φίλτατοι βούλομαι ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαι. *Des.* ἃ μὲν καὶ οἰκείοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐώρακα· ἃ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀοιδίου Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ γεγονότος ἐνθάδε ἀρχιερέως μεμάθηκα καὶ τῷδε τῷ συγγράμματι ἐνέταξα· χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. Whole Life.

Cf. H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum mss. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adseruantur* (Oxford, 1852), II, 8,13; Van de Vorst–Delehay, *Catalogus*, 376f.

# S (16)

Jerusalem, Πατριαρχικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, cod. Sabaiticus 415: paper, 14th c., 273 fols., 17,5 x 12,5 cm., 1 col., 18 lines.

VA fols. 150–240<sup>v</sup>. Excerpts:

a) fols. 150–190. Title: Λόγος τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ καὶ ἐρωταποκρίσεις Ἐπιφανίου Κύπρου πρὸς αὐτὸν. *Inc.* Ἀνδρέας· ἱερεὺς γὰρ πόρνος καὶ διάκονος μοιχὸς ἐπικατάρατοι ἔσονται τῷ θεῷ. *Des.* κωλύομαι γὰρ ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει καὶ εἰσέρχεται τρόμος εἰς τὰ ὁστά μου καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς μου ταράττεται. Corresponding to lines 2836–3614, minus 3001–121 (ὅτε οὖν ... βροντῶν) and 3461–558.

b) fols. 190–212<sup>v</sup>. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ. *Inc.* Βίον ἐνάρετον καὶ πολιτείαν ἄμειπτον ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου, ᾧ φίλτατοι, βούλομαι ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαι. *Des.* ὑπέμεινε δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μακάριος πεινῶντα καὶ διψῶντα καὶ ῥηγῶντα (sic) καὶ καυσούμενος. Corresponding to lines 1–290.

c) fols. 212<sup>v</sup>–230. Title: Περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος (sic) πλουσίου καὶ ἀσεβοῦς. *Inc.* Ἐν μιᾷ γοῦν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πνευματικὸν ἀγῶνα χωροῦντος αὐτὸν (sic). *Des.* λευκοὶς ἐμφίοις (sic) ἐστολισμένος· τῷ δὲ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ μονογενῇ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. Corresponding to lines 1498–712.

d) fols. 230–232<sup>v</sup>. Title: Περὶ τοῦ Σολομώντος. *Inc.* ὦ πάτερ, πάντα με ἐθεράπευσας. *Des.* θεὸς γὰρ εἰμι καὶ σώζω πάντας τοὺς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. See app. f.

e) fols. 232<sup>v</sup>–240<sup>v</sup>. Title: Ἀνδρέου πρὸς Ἐπιφάνιον. *Inc.* Τινὲς φασὶν ὅτι μετὰ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν. *Des.* πλὴν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὁμοιοῦται τῶν ἀγροίκων αἰνιγμα· τῷ δὲ (read αἰνιγματῶδει) λόγῳ τῷ φάσκοντι· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. Corresponding to lines 4004–151.

Cf. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, II (St. Petersburg, 1894), 531–3.

If we compare these 13 MSS with each other it appears that BML form one group and KDE another, each group representing one particular version of VA. Let us call the former group, which is very tightly knit,  $\beta$  and the latter, which is less homogeneous,  $\delta$ . Let us further leave PRYFS aside for a moment and compare  $\beta\delta CV$  with A. To begin with it may be useful to reproduce the first and the last page of the remaining quire of A as they appear in the MS, columns, spelling and accentuation (as far as possible<sup>7</sup>) included,<sup>8</sup> and check the variants of  $\beta\delta CV$ . The latter are reproduced in the conventional way, as there is no indication that the copyists ever tried to imitate the majuscule writing of A.

#### A VIII (1880–94)

- |    |                   |                      |
|----|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1  | ση τὸν ἥλιον· ὁ   | ἐβουλεύσατο ἀναχω    |
|    | δὲ συνιῆς τα ῥῆ   | 30                   |
|    | θέντα ἀντῶ, δι    | ρήσε· ὁ δε μισανος   |
|    | ἐχλεύασεν τον δι  | δαίμων, ὑπέβαλ       |
| 5  | καιον εἰπων· ναὶ  | λεν αὐτὸν, ἄραι καὶ  |
|    | παρατετραμμέ      | τὴν ὠθόνην· καὶ      |
|    | νε· ἄδηλα λέγεις  | γυμνὸν τὸ σῶμα       |
|    | σὺ καὶ τῶν δαιμό  | 35                   |
|    | νων ἐφ᾽ αὐτῶν·    | καταλιπεῖν· ὁ καὶ    |
| 10 | ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ ἀπέρχο   | πεποίηκεν· νένυσει   |
|    | με καὶ ἴδω ἡ ἐνερ | δὲ θῦ· ὡς ἀπόρρητος· |
|    | γῆ σου τὰ ῥήματα· | ἐστὶν τὸ διήγημα·    |
|    | ὁ δὲ ὁσιος μετρίω | τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῆς     |
|    | παθῶν, διέβη      | 40                   |
|    | τὸν τόπον· ἐσπέ   | χεῖρα κουφήσασα ἡ    |
|    | ρὰς δὲ εἶδη γενο  | κόρη, δίδωσιν αὐ     |
|    | μένης· ἄδειαν     | τῷ ράπισμα· ὥστε     |
| 15 | ἐνρῶν ὁ ἀτυχέσ    | παραχρήμα τὸν δὺ     |
|    |                   | ο ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπὸ      |
|    |                   | 45                   |
|    |                   | τυφλωθῆναι· συν      |
|    |                   | έσχεν τὲ αὐτὸν τρό   |

<sup>7</sup> I have put the diacritical sign over the first vowel of a diphthong or over a consonant when this is how it is located in the MS, but I have not tried to imitate the MS when the diacritical sign appears more or less between two letters, as is common in the case of α, ε, ι. Δὲ fol. VIII, line 2 and ἐπεῖ fol. XI<sup>v</sup>, line 7 have double accents. In ἴδω fol. VIII, line 11 the ἴ has been provided with a diaeresis.

<sup>8</sup> I have interspaced the words, however, and refrained from trying to imitate the form of the letters; for such details, see fig.



- |                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| τατος· ἀπελθὼν·     | μος φοβερὸς καὶ φ     |
| 20 καὶ ἀποκυλήσας   | βος ἀσύγκρητος·       |
| τὸν λίθον τοῦ       | ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ κλῶ      |
| μνήματος εἰσῆ       | 50 νου τὰς σιαγῶνας   |
| ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ πρῶ    | αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς ὁδοῦ   |
| τα μὲν, ἐπῆρεν      | σι συντρίβεσθαι·      |
| 25 αὐτῆς τὸ ὁμοφύρι | ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ      |
| ον· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ   | γόνατα· ἀνοίξασα      |
| τὸ σάβανον· ὅτε     | 55 δὲ ἡ νεκρὰ κόρη τὸ |
| Οὖν τὰντα ἦρεν,     | στόμα αὐτῆς, τάδε     |

β 3–4 διέχλευάσεν: -ζε || 24 ἐπῆρεν: ἀπῆρεν || 31–2 ὑπέβαλλεν: -βαλεν || 46 τὲ: δὲ

V 3 αὐτῷ om. || 3–4 διέχλευάσεν: -ζε || 11–12 ἐνεργῆ: -ῆσει || 16–17 γενομένης: γενα- || 24 ἐπῆρεν: ἀπῆρητο || 31–2 ὑπέβαλλεν: ὑπέλαβεν || 46 τὲ: δὲ || 46–8 τρόμος ... φόβος: φόβος καὶ τρόμος φοβερὸς καὶ || 51 σὺν om. || 56 τάδε om.

C 2–3 συνιῆς ... αὐτῷ om. || 7 λέγεις: φῆς || 8 καὶ τῶν: μετὰ || 11–12 ἐνεργῆ ... ῥήματα: ἐνεργήσουν τὰ ῥήματά σου || 20 καὶ om. || 25–6 ὁμοφύριον: μαφύριον κάλλιστον πέλον καὶ ἔντιμον || 31–2 ὑπέβαλλεν: ὑπέλαβεν || 34–5 γυμνὸν ... σῶμα: γυμνὴν αὐτήν || 40–1 ἡ κόρη om. || 44 ὀφθαλμοῦς: add. αὐτοῦ || 47 φοβερὸς om. || 49 τοῦ: add. γενομένου αὐτοῦ || 56 τάδε om.

δ 2 συνιῆς: συνεῖς τελείως || 8 καὶ: add. τοῦ φυρμού || 11 ἴδω: βλέψω || 24–7 ἐπῆρεν ... σάβανον: ἦρεν τὸ σάβανον καὶ τὸ μαφύριον κάλλιστα ὄντα || 36–7 νεύσει δὲ: ὅτε οὖν ταύτην ἦρεν νεύσει || 40–1 ἡ κόρη om. || 42–5 ὥστε ... ἀπότυφλωθήναι: καὶ παραυτὰ ἐτυφλώθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ || 46 τὲ: δὲ DE || 49 τοῦ: add. γενομένου αὐτοῦ

A XI<sup>o</sup> (2085–100)

- |                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1 τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐ     | τον ἐκτάξαι σε· καὶ  |
| τοῦ· ὅρα μὴ παρακού | 30 ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς πό  |
| σις μου τῶν ῥημά    | λεως ὀνειδὸς σε ποι  |
| των· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν     | ῆση· ταῦτα ἀκού      |
| 5 πρώτοις παρεκά    | Σας ὁ μοναχὸς, ἔφρι  |
| λεσά σε ἵνα μηκέτι  | ξεν καὶ ἐξεστη τὸ    |
| ἀφορμὴν ἔχεις· ἐπεὶ | 35 πνι· τοὺς δὲ ἐξελ |
| ἐὰν παρακούσης μου, | θώντας λόγους ἐκ     |
| μα τὸν ἰν, τῷ σα    | τοῦ στόματος τοῦ     |
| 10 τανᾶ σε παραδώσω | ἀγίου, πάντας        |
| εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρ | μετα πολλῆς τῆς      |
| κός σου· καὶ στρα   | 40 ἀσφαλείας συνέθε  |
| φεῖς, ὑπέδειξεν αὐ  | το ποιήσε· καὶ με    |

	τῷ τὸν διάβολον·		τα τὰντα θεωρεῖ
15	ἡνεώχθησαν δὲ		ὁ δίκαιος, ὅτι ἦλ
	παρὰντὰ οἱ νοεροὶ		θεν πνα ἐξ ανατο
	αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμοὶ,	45	λῶν ὡς ἀστραπῇ
	καὶ ἐθεάσατο αὐτὸν		φλογερῶ· καὶ ἦψα
	αἰθίωπα μέλαν·		το τοῦ δράκοντος·
20	ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν		δαπανῶσα αὐτοῦ
	αὐτοῦ καπνὸν ἐκ		τὴν ἰσχύν· ὁ δὲ
	πορευόμενον· καὶ	50	μη φέρων τὰς ὁ
	αὐτὸς μήκοθεν ἴσ		δύνας· εἰς κόρακα
	τατο· πάλιν οὖν		μεταβαλὼν ἑαυ
25	πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη ὁ		τὸν, τῷ θρίνω ὁ
	δίκαιος· ἴδε μη		λοφυρόμενος ὥχε
	παρακούσης μου· ἐ	55	το· εὐθέως δὲ καὶ
	πεὶ ἐντελοῦμαι τοῦ		παραχρήμα ἅπε

β 21–2 ἐκπορευόμενον· ἐκπέμποντα || 55–6 εὐθέως ... παραχρήμα: παραχρήμα δὲ

ν 1–2 αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν ἰν. || 16 παρὰντὰ: παρὰντῖκα

ς 3 μου om. || 7 ἔχεις· κέκτησαι || 9 Ἰησοῦν· add. καὶ βασιλέαν Χριστόν || 12 σου om. || 13–14 αὐτῶν· αὐτὸν || 15 ἡνεώχθησαν· ἁ· || δὲ· γὰρ || 16 παρὰντὰ om. || 16–17 αὐτοῦ οἱ νοεροὶ ἰν. || 18 αὐτὸν om. || 20 ἐκ· καὶ ἀπὸ || 21–2 καπνὸν ἐκπορευόμενον· καπνὸς ἐξεπορευέτο || 23–4 μήκοθεν ἴστατο· ἴστατο μήκοθεν τοῦ ἀγίου φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ βαλόμενος || 24–5 ἔφη οὖν πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰν. || 26 μη· ἐὰν || 27–8 ἐπεὶ om. || 29–32 ἐκτάξαι ... ποιήσῃ· καὶ κατὰ σοῦ χωρήσας αἰσχύνη καὶ ὄνειδος πάσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποκαταστήσει σοι || 32 ταῦτα· add. πάντα || 38–40 πάντας ... ἀσφαλείας om. || 41–2 καὶ ... τὰντα· ὡς δὲ συνέθετο || 42 θεωρεῖ· ὁρᾷ || 44–5 πνεῦμα ... ανατολῶν· ἐξ ανατολῶν πνεῦμα κραταῖδον || 48 δαπανῶσα· -οὔσα || 51 εἰς· ὡς εἰς || 53–4 ὀλοφυρόμενος· φυρόμενος || 55–6 καὶ παραχρήμα om.

δ 7 ἔχεις· κέκτησαι || 9 Ἰησοῦν· add. μὰ τὸν βασιλέα Χριστόν || 9–13 τῷ ... στραφεῖς om. || 13–14 ὑπέδειξεν ... διάβολον· ὁρᾷς τὸν διάβολον, ἴδε ἐκεῖνον || 15–18 ἡνεώχθησαν ... καὶ· τοῦ δὲ μοναχοῦ ἀνοιγόντων τῶν ἔνδον ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ || 18 ἐθεάσατο αὐτὸν· εἶδεν τὸν διάβολον || 19 μέλαν· μαῦρον || 20–2 ἐκ ... ἐκπορευόμενον· βλοσυρόν || 22–4 καὶ ... ἴστατο· μήκοθεν ἰστάμενον, post quod add. φόβῳ τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν μακάριον· θεωρῶ αὐτόν, λέγε δὲ (δὲ K: δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ DE) τὰ εἰς σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς ἀρμόζοντα || 24–6 πάλιν ... δίκαιος· ἔφη πάλιν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος || 26–9 ἴδε ... τοῦτον· πιστευσόν μοι, ἐὰν παρακούσης μου, τοῦτον κατὰ σοῦ ἀποστελῶ || 29–32 καὶ ... ποιήσῃ· ἵνα ἡ αἰσχύνη τοῦ προσώπου σου ἀκουτισθῇ (ἀκουσθῇ K) οὐ μόνον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι (add. τῶν πόλεων K) ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ τετραπέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης· ὅρα οὖν μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ ἀλλὰ ποιήσον καθὼς σοι ἐνετείλαμην || 38–41 πάντας ... ποιήσε· συνέθετο ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἐνετειλάτο αὐτῷ || 41–2 καὶ ... τὰντα· ὡς δὲ συνέθετο || 42 θεωρεῖ· ὁρᾷ || 44–5 πνεῦμα ... ανατολῶν· ἐξ ανατολῶν πνεῦμα κραταῖδον || 50–1 τὰς ὁδύ-



νας om. || 51–3 εἰς ... ἐαντὸν: μετασχηματισθεῖς εἰς κόρακα || 53–4 τῷ ... ὀλο-  
φυρόμενος om. || 54–5 ὤχετο: ἄφαντος ἐγένετο τῶν ἐκεῖ, post quod add. ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ  
ὁ ἕτερος μαῦρος (δαίμων K) τοῦ ἑτέρου τὴν καύσιν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφανῆς (ἄφαντος K)  
ἐγένετο || 55–6 καὶ παραχρήμα om.

To judge from these pages the variants of  $\beta$  and V are few and not very serious, whereas those of C and  $\delta$  are numerous and sometimes far-reaching. In order to found our judgment on a broader basis, let us count the variants of  $\beta$ V C  $\delta$  fol. by fol. Thus:

	$\beta$	V	C	$\delta$
VIII	4	10	13	9
VIII <sup>v</sup>	2	12	6	12
IX	7	17	10	19
IX <sup>v</sup>	5	12	6	13
IV	4	8	23	26
IV <sup>v</sup>	12	15	19	25
V	10	11	11	18
V <sup>v</sup>	8	3	11	10
VI	9	8	11	17
VI <sup>v</sup>	5	5	9	10
VII	5	6	15	14
VII <sup>v</sup>	7	3	14	15
X	6	6	12	17
X <sup>v</sup>	6	11	5	9
XI	4	12	12	18
XI <sup>v</sup>	2	2	26	21
	96	141	203	253

The tendency discernible in the variants to the first and last fol., namely that  $\beta$  and V are more reliable than C and  $\delta$ , is confirmed. In the A section as a whole, the variants of C and  $\delta$  are more than twice as many as those of  $\beta$ , and they are also much more serious, although this is not visible in the statistics. It further appears that  $\beta$  is more reliable than V, and C more reliable than  $\delta$ . The number of variants varies from page to page, in  $\beta$  from 2 to 12, in V from 2 to 17, in C from 5 to 26 and in  $\delta$  from 8 to 26. The difference between the minimum and the maximum is somewhat bigger in V and C than in  $\beta$  and  $\delta$ , respectively. This is in line with the fact that V and C are unstable witnesses, as we shall see in the following examination of the four versions and the MSS representing them.

## β

The variants of β are not only relatively few but also rather harmless. It may be useful, however, to know of what kinds they are. Here follows a list in which they have been broken up into six categories.

1. Word forms and orthography: line 1881 διεχλεύασε: -ζε 1887 ὑπέβαλ-  
λεν: -βαλεν 1897 ἄπερ: οἷς 1898 ἀλλ': ἀλλὰ 1912 σε: σοι 1918  
ἐξεπλήσσετο: -ττ- 1920 ἔχων: εἶχεν 1923 κοσσόν: κόνσον BM κίνσον L  
1929 τὸν διάβολον: τῷ διαβόλῳ 1932 ἀλλ': ἀλλὰ 1945 αὐτὸν: αὐτῷ 1951  
ἐκεῖ: ἐκεῖσε Σταβρίῳ: Σταυρίῳ 1961 κορβανᾶν: κορβω- 1966 κνιπίας:  
σκνιπίας BL 1967 ἀσπλαχνίας: ἀσπλαγχ- 1972 πασῶν: πάντων 1977  
αὐτῷ: αὐτόν 1979 ἀλλ' ἄγε: ἀλλὰ γε 1990 ἡσύχιον: ἡσυχον 1994 ὑμῶν:  
ἡμῶν 1996 μου: μοι 2001 λευσχήμονα: λευχείμονα 2005 τοὺς υἱοὺς: τοῖς  
υἱοῖς 2006 ἐλεᾶν: ἐλεεῖν 2017 ἀφεθήσεται: ἀφίενται 2024 ἐξέστη: ἐξέστη  
2029 ἡς: οὗ 2040 ἐπιτιθεμένου: ἐπιθεμένου 2046 με: μοι 2061 ἄγχη: ἄγχεις  
σκνιπευόμενος: κνιπ- 2065 οὕτω: οὕτως 2068 χρυσὸν ... ἄργυρον: χρυσίον  
... ἄργύριον 2083 τοῖς ἀνακειμένοις: ὡς ἀνακειμένῳ 2085 αὐτὸν: αὐτῷ.  
The tendency to correct and normalize, which also manifests itself in many  
other MSS and groups thereof, is evident. But there is also at least one  
probable slip of the pen (2040) and one case in which an incorrect form has  
been substituted for a correct one (1972). The form κόνσον for κοσσόν  
(1923) looks like a hypercorrection; cf. Indices s.v. κόσσος. The MSS  
BML handle the diacritical signs and spelling alternatives like αι/ε, ι/ει and  
ο/ω correctly, and unlike A they do not use the ν ephelkystikon before a  
consonant—in these respects B is almost flawless. The orthography of β  
seems to have been incomparably more sober than that of A.

2. One word substituted for another: 1886 ἐπῆρεν: ἀπῆρεν 1891 τὲ: δὲ (this  
may be a matter of orthography) 1908 πρὸς: παρὰ 1914 εἰ τις: ὅτι 1932  
πόθεν: πῶς 1946 κατέλυσεν: κατέλιπεν 1956 εὐάρμοστα: εὐάρεστα 1957  
δὲ: γὰρ 1961 εἰς: πρὸς 1968 τοῦ μοναχοῦ: αὐτοῦ 1975 ἔλεγε δὲ: καὶ ἔλεγεν  
1980 ὑπέκκει: ὑπόκειται 1988 μιμούμενος: μισ- 2026 μιαροῦ: πονηροῦ  
2032 καθότι: ὅτι 2033 κρᾶζειν: λέγειν 2057 οἷς: εἰ 2072 προπύλαια:  
πρωτόλεια 2090 ἐκπορευόμενον: ἐκπέμποντα. Some of these variants seem  
to derive from an ambition to improve Nikephoros' Greek or make the  
meaning clearer (1886, 1891, 1908, 2057, 2072, 2090). Others are more or  
less obvious errors (1946, 1956, 1988), while the rest seem to elude classi-  
fication. In two cases the meaning is more seriously affected, namely 1988  
(for obvious reasons) and 2072 (in the context, προπύλαια is much more  
graphic than πρωτόλεια).

3. Substitutions of two or several words: 1911 ἦν ἐπαιτῶν καὶ οὕτως:



ἐπαιτῶν ὁ τοιοῦτος 1938–9 τί ἔστιν ὁ φλυαρεῖ ὁ σαλός: πάρετός ἐστι 1953–4 ἐν εὐλαβείᾳ ἐπευφημιζόμενον: ἐπ'εὐλαβείᾳ ἐπιφημιζόμενον 2048–9 ῥιζοτομήσαι συνεχώρησας: ῥιζοτόμους παρέδωκας 2060 ἐργατείας ποιησάμενος: ἐργάτας δεξάμενος. In one case it is clear that  $\beta$  tried to improve the Greek (1953–4), while in the others it is hard to see any particular reason for the substitution.

4. Word order. In the section under consideration  $\beta$  inverted or otherwise changed the original word order ten times, see app. crit. to 1938, 1959, 1979, 1996, 1997, 2025–6, 2028, 2045, 2052, 2082. Sometimes the scribe may have intended to improve the rhythm at the end of a sentence (1959, 2028, 2052), but otherwise these variants are indifferent.

5. Omissions: 1909 οὐχ ὥς: οὐκ 1926 καὶ<sup>1</sup> 1952 chapter number and heading 1958 τοῦ 1964 τε 1979 τοῦ 1984 ταπεινός 1998 τοιγαροῦν and καὶ 2017 καὶ 2035 ἡ 2043 δεξιᾶς and αὐτοῦ 2047 ἐχρημάτισας 2052 φίλον 2068 ἔχειν 2099–100 εὐθέως δὲ καὶ παραχρῆμα: παραχρῆμα δὲ. Three of these omissions destroy or obscure the meaning which, however, would have been restorable even without A. The loss of the chapter number and heading is more serious, since no MS has the same number and heading as A. To judge from A, Nikephoros had divided the first half of his text into 32 chapters, and the division probably continued in the second half. This system cannot be restored since, to judge from the MSS preserved,  $\beta$  copied the numbers and headings only at the beginning of VA, while in the other MSS the chapters with their numbers and headings vary from version to version. Of the remaining omissions three were obviously intended to remove abundant words (1964, 1998, 2099–100), while the others seem to be indifferent.

6. Additions: 1961 καὶ post ζῶν 1965 οὐ ante τὸ οὐραῖον 1967 καὶ post μανίας 1972 καὶ δηλοῦσαν post γράμμασι 1998 καὶ post βούλει 1999 ἐστὶ post μεγάλη. These additions probably serve the purpose of making the text run more smoothly, but none of them is important.

This survey shows that at least this part of  $\beta$  was written by a comparatively careful scribe who slipped and changed little, omitted little on purpose and added still less, although he had the ambition to correct or improve Nikephoros' Greek here and there and bring out the meaning more clearly. Occasionally there may have been a real error in his model, which he tried to mend more or less successfully. This model cannot have been A itself (cf. below).

Can we assume that this judgment is valid for the remaining 95% of VA as well? By and large the answer is probably yes, for unlike the other versions  $\beta$  does not change character from one part of VA to another. It keeps a

sober style throughout the Vita and contains few evident errors of its own making (for examples, see app. crit. to 199,<sup>9</sup> 3201–6, 3888–3901, 4073, 4080, 4092–4). In addition there are a few errors, or probable errors, which  $\beta$  shares with other MSS (in the first place, see app. crit. to 3305, 3941f., 4019–21 and 4023, 4088–90, 4368, 4373f.). As in the section that can be checked, the quality of the copy may vary somewhat from paragraph to paragraph. The lines 191–205 and parts of the apocalyptic section would seem to be of lower than average quality. It is also possible that the scribe purposely omitted sentences in the apocalypse that seemed particularly strange and confused to him. It may be, therefore, that  $\beta$  is somewhat less reliable in the last third of the Vita. In the earlier parts, however, I have found little indication that  $\beta$  has been more extensively manipulated than in the section just analysed. In this section  $\beta$  deviates from A about 44 times per one thousand words. Consequently we may expect that, on an average,  $\beta$  contains between 40 and 50 mostly small deviations from the original per one thousand words also in the remaining parts of the Vita, perhaps a little more in the later ones. In principle, therefore, Sara Murray was right when she said of B, one of the  $\beta$  MSS, that it “is undoubtedly to be considered of very great importance in the edition of this text” (*A Study*, 109).

Now B is only one of at least ten MSS representing  $\beta$  and therefore less reliable than  $\beta$  itself, the reconstructable source from which all the other MSS of this class derive. I am referring to the following nos. in the complete catalogue: 12 (B), 13, 19, 20, 23 (M), 30, 31, 32, 36 (Y), 50 (L). To these may be added no. 81, containing a Modern Greek version of  $\beta$ , and probably also some of the nos. that I have not had the opportunity to examine.

One can easily see that nos. 19 and 20 are closely related to no. 12 (B), as they have additions in common,<sup>10</sup> and also that no. 30 is closely related to no. 50 (L). One could certainly go on establishing the relationship between all the ten MSS. I have found, however, that a combination of nos. 12 (B), 23 (M) and 50 (L) and a comparison between these MSS on the one hand and the other versions on the other eliminate practically all deviations from  $\beta$ , among them the additions in nos. 12, 19 and 20 just mentioned, so that for the present purpose the reconstruction of a complete stemma for the  $\beta$  MSS would seem to be superfluous.

<sup>9</sup> K has the same error, but in this part of the text K follows  $\beta$ .

<sup>10</sup> Examples: συγγραφεις ... σοφίας after the title (cf. above in the description of B), line 385 καὶ πατριάρχης καὶ πολλῶν πατῆρ μέλλει ἔσεσθαι *post* προεφήτευσεν αὐτόν, 388 τῷ θεῷ δοξάζοντες *post* ἀνέθηκαν, 591 ἐκείνου οἴου μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν μέλλει ἔσεσθαι ἡμῖν, ἡ μᾶλλον μετὰ τοῦ σώματος *post* σώματος (accordingly the οὐκ before ἐνῆδρευον is omitted).



On the average δ is the version most remote from A. As the variants to the fols. reproduced above show, δ not only has a great number of long or short additions (see VIII, 2, 8, 49 etc.), omissions (VIII, 40f., VIII<sup>v</sup>, 16, 52 etc.) and substitutes for single words or phrases (VIII, 11, VIII<sup>v</sup>, 43, VI, 6 etc.), but also contains more radical changes of the text (in particular, see variants to fol. XI<sup>v</sup>). Obviously, δ is a very unreliable source. It is true that, on occasion, δ may have valuable readings (as 1967 ἡ τρίτη Αδ: καὶ ἡ τρίτη βV loc. om. C, and 2001 λευσχήμονα Αδ: λευχείμονα βCV). But unfortunately these few valuable readings are most often impossible to tell from all the bad ones. The importance of δ lies elsewhere, namely partly in the fact that it forms the basis for further expanded versions, partly in the fact that it illuminates the character of C, and partly also in an interesting vocabulary (see e.g. 1912 ἐαυτὸν: τὴν γούλαν αὐτοῦ δ).

Among the MSS representing δ, E has the wordiest version (see for instance app. crit. to 1257 and 2691). Together with certain other MSS it also contains the substantial additions which I have relegated to apps. *a-d*. Moreover, to this additional material it also adds paragraphs of its own (in particular, see E's version of app. *d*, lines 80–113). Finally, the end of the Vita appears in E in a special version (see app. *e*).

In comparison with β, E's text seems wild. Nevertheless it is of considerable interest, not only because of its additions but also because it contains lowbrow words like καῦκος, κόντρα, κοτζέα (see Indices). Since καῦκος is also in P,<sup>11</sup> written in the 11th century, this lowbrow vocabulary is much older than E itself.

There is no reason to think that E is a careful copy of the version it represents, although for the most part it is difficult to distinguish its own deviations from those of its model. Unfortunately, E is not only a careless copy but also in a bad state of preservation. To begin with most of the prologue is illegible. Further on a number of fols. between fols. 96 and 105 are missing, while the remaining fols. are in bad order:

2311: Fol. 96<sup>v</sup> ends, whereupon a couple of fols. are missing. Instead there is an empty fol. (numbered 96A), as if the copyist had met with a lacuna in his model, a lacuna which he intended to fill out with the help of another source, although his plan was never carried out.

2358: Beginning of fol. 97.

2403: End of fol. 98<sup>v</sup> and beginning of fol. 103.

<sup>11</sup> This does not appear from the app. crit. to line 1239f., since from 1217 to 3620 P's variants are left without consideration.

2452: End of fol. 104<sup>v</sup>, after which about five fols. are missing.

2554: Beginning of fol. 99.

2661: End of fol. 102<sup>v</sup>, after which one fol. is missing.

2688: Beginning of fol. 105.

Further on, towards the end, one fol. corresponding to app. *e*, lines 68–91, is missing between fols. 191 and 192. Instead there are three empty fols. Fol. 193<sup>v</sup> ends with ἀοιδήμου ἐπιφανίου (line 158, corresponding to 123). The next fol. is empty, and the last words of the epilogue have been lost. Finally the upper and outer corners of fols. 103–49 have been injured by damp, so that the writing in this area is hard or sometimes even impossible to read.

The Russian translation in the *Velikiya Chetyi Minyei* was done from a Greek MS closely related to but not identical with E (See “Testimonies and *Nachleben*”).

K represents  $\delta$  only at the beginning and in the middle of the text. Otherwise it follows  $\beta$  and, towards the end, a version I have called  $\zeta$ , to which E also belongs in part. Thus:

1–33: K follows  $\delta$ , except that it expands the prologue.

34–1459: K follows  $\beta$ .

1460–2931: K follows  $\delta$ . This section includes the part in which A has been preserved.

2932–end: K follows  $\zeta$ .

K’s place in the app. crit. changes accordingly.

The beginning of K is partly illegible (lines 3–8). In the  $\beta$  section it has a lacuna stretching from 533 to 699. The ends meet on fol. 18<sup>v</sup>, line 25, where γάλα καὶ μέλι 699 follows immediately and without warning upon μέγιστον ὑπῆρχε 532. Thus in this case the lacuna is not due to an omission of fols. in K itself. A second lacuna, however, stretching from 1757 to 1781, depends on the omission of one fol. between fols. 54 and 55.

K is a relatively good copy which occasionally sheds light on the various versions it joins. This is especially important in the section 34–1459, where it follows  $\beta$ , the missing part excepted. In the section where the MSS can be checked against the original, one notices that K is the only MS that has preserved A’s ἔχων line 1920.

D is related to E, especially at the beginning up to 218, where it represents an expanded and “vulgar” version (see e.g. app. crit. to 78f. and 79f.). After 218 it follows a slightly more sober model, while E continues to represent a



very free version. D does not contain the additions reproduced in the Appendices nor the special version of the end of the Vita found in ζ. From this I conclude that D, although in itself a careless copy, from 218 on represents δ more faithfully than E and K. The combination DE I have called ε.

D is the main source of the *editio princeps* (cf. "Testimonies and *Nachleben*"), which is therefore based on a MS far removed from A, although not as far as E and K.

## C

This MS often sides with Αβ against the unreliable δ version. Moreover, in some cases C alone preserves the genuine reading of A, namely 1886 (ἐπήρεν), 1911 (ἦν ἐπαιτῶν καὶ οὕτως), 1929 (τὸν διάβολον), 1965 (τὸ οὐραῖον), 1977 (αὐτῷ), 2040 (ἐπιτιθεμένου). The basic source of C must therefore have been a good MS, not identical with β, but equal to it.

Unfortunately, in C's model or one of that model's predecessors this good source was contaminated with variants from a MS related to the δ version.<sup>12</sup> This appears from the variants to the two fols. of A reproduced above (see e.g. VIII, 25f., XI, 9, 41f., 44f.) and is confirmed by many cases in between, e.g. 1968f. τὰ τούτου μορφώματα Αβ: τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ δράκοντος καὶ τὰ τούτου μορφώματα δ τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ δράκοντος C 1992 βλέπον καὶ ἴδε πῶς Αβ: θέαμα δ βλέπον καὶ ἴδε θέαμα C 2035 ἐστηκὼς ἡκροοῦ Αβ: ἄδηλος σὺ ἐστὼς παρηκροοῦ δ ἀδιλῶς (sic) σὺ ἐστὼς παρακουόμενος (?) C 2047 ἐγένον Αβ: ἀπέδρας δC 2084 ἀχάριστοι: add. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐχθροδῶς διακείμενοι διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας DE al. K add. καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροδῶς (sic) κειμένους διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας C. Many variants outside the section covered by the A fragment point in the same direction. To take three examples: 121 περιώδευσε βK<sup>13</sup>: ἄλλως ἤρτυσε DE ἄλλως αὐτὸν περιώδευσεν καὶ ἤρτυσεν C 1256f. ἐκ περιεργίας γυναικείας τοῦτο ἔπαθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἐπιληψίας βK<sup>14</sup>: ἀπὸ γυναικὸς περιεργία σατανικῇ ἐπαπατέτραπτο, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἐπιληψίας συνέβη αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος δC (with minor variations; after πάθος E adds about 40 words on its own) 3183 ἀποστρέφεισθαι: E adds about 40 words, an addition also appearing in C, although in a shorter form (see app. crit. ad loc.).

Sometimes the contamination may have worked in the opposite direc-

<sup>12</sup> Already Murray, *A Study*, 109, and Maas, "Review", 317, observed that C offers a contaminated text.

<sup>13</sup> Note that in this section K does not belong to the δ family.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. preceding note.

tion. However, to clarify the exact relationship between C and the  $\delta$  MSS would demand more space and effort than is reasonable. It suffices to state the basic facts, namely that C and the  $\delta$  MSS have a great number of large deviations from the original in common. This means that large variants in C $\delta$  must be regarded with suspicion, while small variants may indicate errors in  $\beta$ , although this may be hard to prove in the specific case. The combination  $\beta$ C, on the other hand, must be taken seriously, although on occasion it may be wrong, as on line 2001 (λευσχήμονα A $\delta$ : λευχείμονα  $\beta$ C) shows. As to C itself it may have preserved genuine details, corrupted in the other MSS, although these cases can rarely be identified. Finally it should be borne in mind that C, like many other MSS, is a very careless copy marred by omissions, misunderstandings and very bad orthography.

So far what has been said of C applies mainly to the first half of VA. After 2402 C and V form a particular version, which I have called  $\zeta$ . After 2932  $\zeta$  is also represented by K. Particularly characteristic of  $\zeta$  are a number of additions, the first inserted after 2673 (see app. *a*), the second after 3460 (app. *b*), the third after 3614 (app. *c*), and the fourth after 4317 (app. *d*); the last addition also appears in E, although with considerable variations. From 4329 until the end,  $\zeta$  and E differ remarkably from the main version, here represented by  $\beta$ PD (app. *e*). Since the Georgian translation (see "Testimonies and *Nachleben*"), known to have existed as early as in 1040, was based on  $\zeta$ , at least in part, this version appeared less than a century after the original date of composition.

In accordance with its South-Italian origin C is written awkwardly on low-quality parchment,<sup>15</sup> a fact well in line with the careless character of its text. It is in a good but not perfect state of preservation. The first fol., corresponding to lines 1–15, is almost illegible. Further on a fol. is missing after fol. 9, resulting in a lacuna between 298 and 335. The two fols. after the lacuna have changed places, so that fol. 11 should be read before fol. 10. Another fol.—to be precise, the first fol. of the eleventh quire—has been lost between fols. 79 and 80. This has resulted in a lacuna stretching from the last paragraphs of app. *a* (see app. *a*, line 155, app. crit.) to 2688.

## V

V belongs to the  $\beta$  family, although this does not appear from the fols. reproduced above. The following examples come from the fols. in between.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 785, note 2.



1911 καὶ οὕτως: ὁ τοιοῦτος βV

1938–9 τί ἔστιν ὁ φλυαρεῖ ὁ σαλός: πάρετός ἐστι βV

1946 κατέλυσεν: κατέλιπεν βV

1953–4 ἐν ... ἐπευφημιζόμενον: ἐπ' ... ἐπιφημ- βV

1956 εὐάρμοστα: εὐάρεστα βV

1972 γράμμασι: add. καὶ δηλοῦσαν βV

2026 μιαροῦ: πονηροῦ βV

2048–9 ῥιζοτομήσαι συνεχώρησας: ῥιζοτομήσας παρέδωκας V  
ῥιζοτόμους παρέδωκας β

In the passage 2004–17, corresponding to A fol. VI<sup>r</sup>, V is exactly like β, both having the same five small errors.

Within the β family V is closer to B than to M or L. It has the same long title as B and if one checks the first pages of the Vita one finds that V has the deviations characteristic of B, see

24 πολλὰ: εἰς ὑπερβολὴν βV

24 δεσποίνης: add. καὶ πάντων τῶν συνδούλων βV

37 διάβολος: ἐχθρὸς ἡμῶν βV

73 λάχανον: μεμαραμένον λάχανον βV

99 κόπτειν: add. καὶ διαρρηγνύειν βV

102 τὸ γεγονός: add. εἰς τὸν μακάριον ἀνδρέαν βV

104 αὐτοῦ: add. ὡς ἐξεστηκώς βV

114 ἔζηχος: add. καὶ παρατετραμμένος βV

These readings also appear in nos. 19 and 20, the latter of which is a Sinaiticus like V. However, V is not a copy of no. 20.

As V is subordinated to β it naturally has more errors than β itself. Some of these show that V, like many other MSS, tends to normalize the language of the original. Thus it changes 1897 ἃς ἠρκέσθης to ἔδει σε ἀρκεσθῆναι, 1907 τροχὸν to φραγμὸν, and 2066 κόσμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ to κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ. This normalization is of course far from systematic. More remarkable is the fact that V, although it has more errors than each of the individual MSS BML, nevertheless contains some correct readings where the others are wrong. This is the case five times:

1998 τοιγαροῦν AV: καὶ ante ἀποκριθεὶς β τοίνυν KE οὖν D al. C

2000 καί AV: om. βδ al. C

2046 με AV: μοι βδ om. C

2090 καπνὸν ἐκπορευόμενον AV: καπνὸν ἐκπέμποντα β καπνὸς ἐξεπορεύετο C loc. om. δ

2099–100 εὐθέως δὲ καὶ παραχρήμα AV: εὐθέως δὲ Cδ παραχρήμα δὲ β

These cases indicate that V may not be as dependent on  $\beta$  as it seemed at first. Sometimes it may be a better witness than BML. On the other hand, the deviations of BML are so small that they would probably have remained unnoticed, had not this part of A happened to be preserved. One may therefore ask if it would be worthwhile to record all the variants of V, only to make sure that no possibly genuine reading, however unimportant, is left out. To my mind the price would be too high, since the few good readings would be drowned in all the bad ones. I have therefore decided not to use V or include its readings in the app. crit. as long as it sticks to the  $\beta$  family.

After σχολάζων 2135 V adds the words καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἀπάσαις καθαίρων ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀποσμήχων ἀπὸ πάσης ὕλικης μοχθηρίας. Exactly the same words appear in  $\delta$ , while C has the variant καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἀπάσαις καθαίρων ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. This addition marks the beginning of a series of contaminations and other changes that completely change the character of V. At first most contaminations derive from  $\delta$  or C $\delta$ , but there are also readings deriving from C alone. A good example of this is 2358 πάθει καὶ πλημμελήμασι: ἀμαρτίαις C ἀμαρτίαις πάθει καὶ πλημμελήμασι V. Later the readings borrowed from C become more frequent, particularly after 2402. Moreover, V includes all the additional material printed in apps. *a*–*d* as well as the special version of the end of the Vita printed in app. *e*. In fact, it is the only MS used for this edition that contains the complete text of app. *a*, the end of which is missing in C because of the loss of the first fol. of the eleventh quire (see the introduction to app. *a*). From 2932 on, however, when K joins  $\zeta$ , V appears to be closer to this MS than to C. Thus V broadens the basis for version  $\zeta$ , and for this reason I have taken V into account for the latter half of VA, although I have not found it helpful to record more than a selection of its innumerable variant readings.

Before leaving V it should be noted that Augoustinos Polyetopoulos (alias Augoustinos Monachos) based his edition of VA (Athens, 1911; repr. Jerusalem, 1912) on this MS, although he further contaminated the already contaminated text of V with extensive borrowings from a source close to or identical with the PG edition (see “Testimonies and *Nachleben*”).

Having thus examined  $\beta\delta CV$  let us now also take a look at the remaining MSS, i.e. PRYFS, of which P is the most important.

## P

Up to 1217 P is a good copy of the  $\beta K$  type. Together with K, therefore, it can be used for checking  $\beta$  in this part of the text. After 1217 it becomes



dependent on an E-related model, of which P is an abridged and E an expanded and careless copy. Thus P shows that, in one form or another, the E version existed already in the 11th century. After 3620 it becomes more similar to  $\beta$  again, although it is not so close to it as before 1217.

After 1217 P not only abbreviates but also omits entire episodes. It omits the chapter on Epiphanius' wicked friend 2125–202. Since the end of the preceding chapter meets the beginning of the following in the middle of fol. 56, the scribe made the omission on purpose. The following chapter is also about a wicked friend of Epiphanius'. Presumably the scribe thought that one such story would be enough. He further omitted 3299–365 (fol. 83<sup>v</sup>, line 2), 3399–420 (fol. 84, line 8f.) and 3428–52 (fol. 84, line 17), i.e. most of the last third part of the *erotapokriseis*.

To these intentional omissions is added the fact that the MS is in a rather bad state of preservation. To begin with the whole first quire is missing, so that VA begins on fol. 9 with πάντα καὶ ἐξεπλήττετο, corresponding to line 217. Further on a fol. between fols. 22 and 23 is missing, corresponding to lines 661–93. Between fols. 55 and 56 several fols. have been lost, perhaps one quire, corresponding to 1826–2114, which means that P cannot be collated with A. Finally a fol. has been lost between fols. 64 and 65, corresponding to 2468–509.

The loss of fols. not only affects VA but also VTheodSyc, the second and last text contained in P.<sup>16</sup> The same applies to the intentional omissions and abbreviations.<sup>17</sup> A.-J. Festugière, the editor of VTheodSyc, therefore assumed that the MS (by him called A) was copied “pour la lecture privée d'édification dans la cellule”.<sup>18</sup> This may be true, although it fails to explain why in the case of VA he started using a good model, which he copied carefully, but after a while turned to another, very different, which he abbreviated.

For this edition P has been used when it is reminiscent of  $\beta$ , i.e. lines 218–1216 and 3620–end.

## R

This MS is a collection of 34 ζητήματα πατέρων,<sup>19</sup> of which no. 26 is an excerpt from VA, namely the *erotapokriseis* 2893–3452. The text is remi-

<sup>16</sup> See Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, 1, XXVIII.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII and, in particular, Rosenqvist, “Der Text”, 163–70.

<sup>18</sup> Festugière, *op. cit.*, XXVII.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the chapter “Manuscripts” in “Testimonies and *Nachleben*”, note 28.

niscent of the  $\varepsilon$  version but is too short to allow a more precise definition of its place in the tradition. The scribe was an independent thinker, for he corrected Ἀντίοχος 3098 to the historically correct Τίτος καὶ Οὐεσπασιανός. Since the *erotapokriseis* contain several obscure passages, while R sometimes offers apparently good readings, I have included it in my material. It should be borne in mind, however, that it is not always clear whether these readings derive from a good model or are the result of contaminations and corrections.

## Y

Y belongs to the  $\beta$  family, although it contains more variants than BML. It is not needed for the reconstruction of  $\beta$ . Nevertheless it is mentioned here because it contains the beginning of app. *d* in a version related to E; see further app. *d*, introduction.

## F

This MS was collated with A by Murray, *A Study*, 85–105, who found that it contains a condensed version related to that of DE, although it does not include the additional material present in E. The fact that VA appears in a condensed form in F fits well with the circumstance that F also contains *VBasilun* in an abridged version.<sup>20</sup> It is furthermore clear that, as Maas observed in his review of Murray's study,<sup>21</sup> F's version of VA is free and contaminated. Consequently it is of little use for the reconstruction of the original form of the Vita. The reason why it is mentioned here is in the first place that the creator of F, or a predecessor of his, noted that the words ἀνέμου ἐκείνου 561 have no antecedent and therefore supplemented a few lines that make the context clear; these lines have been recorded in the app. crit.

A further reason why it is mentioned is that the Bollandist C. Janning exploited F for his *editio princeps* of VA in the AASS, May VI (Antwerp, 1688). He used it in addition to D, which was his main source. He calls it Mazarinianus.

It is also worth noting that when Du Cange quotes VA in his *Glossarium* (most often in the "Appendix ad Glossarium") he says that he does so from

<sup>20</sup> See Rydén, "Basil the Younger", 569f.

<sup>21</sup> Maas, "Review", 317.



F, which he calls cod. Reg. 2458. In fact, however, he also quoted Janing's editio princeps, which appeared in the same year as the *Glossarium*.<sup>22</sup> His quotations are not always correct.

As to the state of preservation one notices that two fols. are missing after fol. 218, leaving a lacuna corresponding to 2797–894. Thereafter one should read fols. 226–30, corresponding to 2894–3123, before fols. 219–25, which correspond to 3123–468. After fol. 225 one fol. is missing. The text continues on fol. 231 with 3512.

## S

S does not contain a complete copy of VA but a number of excerpts (see the catalogue above), among which there is a short piece called Περὶ τοῦ Σολομῶντος. Although this excerpt does not derive from VA but from VNiph, BHG 1371z, I have printed it in app. f, since it is of a certain interest, both in itself and as a witness to the close relationship between VA and VNiph.

To sum up, within less than a century (if the date of composition suggested above is correct) Nikephoros' great work had begun to circulate in various free versions, abridged as well as expanded, at the same time as it continued to be copied in its more or less original form.  $\beta$  was one of these more reliable copies, although a comparison with A reveals that it had been submitted to certain manipulations with regard to grammar, vocabulary and, on rare occasions, even contents. The quality of the MSS representing  $\beta$  is good. The text of  $\beta$  can therefore be restored with a high degree of precision. Moreover, some of  $\beta$ 's deviations from the original may be eliminated with the help of the other versions, although these are generally much more unreliable. One must bear in mind, however, that it is most often difficult to know when  $\beta$  deviates from the original and that, on the other hand, there are instances when none of the MSS examined here corresponds exactly to the original. In the section covered by A this happens eleven times,<sup>23</sup> although none of these errors is serious, except perhaps in the case of the chapter heading and number (1952). Unfortunately, the fact that  $\beta$  is close to the majuscule fragment is no warrant that it is equally close to the original in the remaining 95% of the Vita. As indicated above  $\beta$

<sup>22</sup> See Rydén, "Zum Wortschatz", 222.

<sup>23</sup> See app. crit. to 1923, 1945, 1952, 1953f., 1961, 1964, 2024, 2029, 2061, 2083, 2085.

may become somewhat less reliable towards the end of VA. The decreasing state of preservation of the chapter headings, to be discussed in the next chapter, may be a further indication in that direction.



## The Chapter Headings

The section covered by A contains the last two thirds of the story of the grave robber, two short episodes taking place at the Forum, and most of the story of the avaricious monk. The only chapter heading appearing in A concerns the last story, to which it gives no. 32 (AB'. Περὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Σταυρίῳ line 1952). From this it can be seen that not every episode had its own heading; otherwise the two episodes at the Forum would also have been provided with headings, and the chapter containing the story of the monk would have had a much higher number. In fact no MS adds a heading at the beginning of the episodes at the Forum except K (Περὶ τοῦ σινάτου καὶ τῶν πρατριῶν 1919). On the other hand, at the beginning of the story of the grave robber (1859) most MSS have the heading Περὶ τοῦ λωποδύτου. It is therefore a fair guess that A began its chapter no. 31 at this point and that it had a heading similar to that of the surviving MSS, in which the episodes at the Forum were not mentioned.

No MS has exactly the same heading as A at 1952, nor the same number; in fact, most MSS have no number at all. In the following, however, the MS C has headings at 2125, 2203, 2425 and 2648, and while the first of these has no number the others are numbered 34, 35 and 36. As these numbers correspond well with the number in A it would seem that, at least in this part of the text, C reflects the original chapter system.

If we look at the beginning of the Vita we find that up to 1376 C has 22 chapters, most of them provided with a number, no. 22 being the last. Between 1376 (22) and 2203 (34) there is no number, although one may reasonably assume that no. 29 was at 1791, no. 30 at 1830, no. 31 at 1859, no. 32 at 1952 and no. 33 at 2125. Thus between 1376 (22) and 1791 (29) one would expect C to have six headings, but as a matter of fact there are only three. This shows that the numbers 34 etc. do not refer to the number of chapters in C but to the number of chapters in its model.

If we look at the chapter system in the other MSS up to 2648, in the first place in  $\beta$ KPDE,<sup>1</sup> we find that  $\beta$  does not number its chapters. In general  $\beta$

---

<sup>1</sup> In order not to complicate the following survey unnecessarily I disregard YFS. I also disregard V, as it has only twelve headings in this part of the text, some of them obviously deriving from a second hand. R, being an excerpt, has no chapter division at all.

supports C, although in six cases, in which C has a heading,  $\beta$  fails to indicate that a new chapter begins (625, 858, 1154, 1597, 1952, 2203). Instead  $\beta$  has a heading at 1347, where in the system of C there is no room for another numbered chapter.

L differs from the other two  $\beta$  MSS in that it has a heading at 489, while BM treat the section 422–737 as one chapter. As L's heading does not correspond to the other MSS either in wording or in location, it does not seem to be original. The marginal *Περὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ* at 1952 was probably written by a later reader. On the other hand L omits the heading *Περὶ τοῦ ἐψημάτος Ἐπιφανίου* 922.

In B the headings are located above or under the column. A conspicuous capital letter shows where in the column the new chapter starts. Altogether B has fourteen headings, all in the first half of the Vita, the last being *Περὶ τῆς παρατροπῆς τοῦ οἰκέτου Ἐπιφανίου* line 1100, corresponding to no. 18.

The chapter system of K, a MS close to  $\beta$  up to 1460, corresponds rather well to that of C up to 1498. Some of the headings are numbered; the last number visible in this part of the text is 13 (816). In C the corresponding heading has no number, but the preceding one has no. 12 and the following no. 14. As in C the numbers seem to derive from an older MS, for 13 is too high a number considering the fact that K omits the section 533–699. Like  $\beta$ PC, K has no heading at 298, where one would expect to find no. 6. In fact, C has lost the fol. that began 298, but this is probably a mere coincidence. On the other hand, a remarkable fact is that the heading at 1001 is wrong (it belongs to 1291), while at the corresponding point C fails to fill out the room left for the heading; it only has the number 16. After 1498 K becomes less reliable. An example of this is that K has a heading at 1919, although we know from A that there should not be a heading there.

As the first quire in P is missing, the first heading in this MS appears at 218. From this point up to 1154 it has the same number of chapter headings as C, and they are in the same places. The wording is sometimes very different from that of the other MSS. After 1217 P becomes an abridged copy of a model related to E. This is reflected in the headings, which now become much less frequent and also otherwise correspond much less to those of C.

D, too, has relatively few headings. It numbers them carefully, however, including the title of the entire Vita. Thus no. 25 in D corresponds to no. 32 in A and 28 to no. 36 in C. On fol. 2–2<sup>v</sup> there is a list of headings that corresponds exactly to those found in the following fols., except that no. 17 (1291) has been missed out. This chapter system does not go further back than D itself, however, for the numbers do not take into account the fact



that space has been left for headings at 460, 1100, 1347 and 1376; MS no. 1, which is related to D, has headings in the first, second and fourth of these cases, although it does not have any numbers. Furthermore, at 1460 D adds a heading that is neither in MS no. 1 nor in  $\beta$ KPCE; this heading is numbered 18. On the other hand, the numbers fail to reflect the fact that D omits a heading at 2203. The distribution of headings in D is also remarkably uneven. There are no headings between 42 and 233, whereas the chapters 15 (1260) and 16 (1280) are exceptionally short—ch. 17 begins at 1291.

E does not have chapter numbers in the first half of the Vita, although it has a few numbers in the second half. The first of these is no. 42 at 2714, which means that up to this point E in its original, undamaged form had five more chapters than A is likely to have had. Like D it omits the headings at 218 and 1001, but unlike D it also omits the heading at 625. Instead of a heading at 1419 it has one at 1397. Empty spaces at 854 and 1363 correspond to headings at 858 and 1376 in the other MSS. Finally E adds headings of its own at 1524, 1687 and 1819.

Here follows a list of the chapter headings and numbers found in  $\beta$ CKPDE up to 2648.

Probable Original Numbers	Location	Headings in the MSS	Numbers
1 ?	1	Βίος καὶ πολιτεία ...	D1
	34	Περὶ τῆς προσβολῆς τοῦ θεάτρου (διαβόλου L, cf. 130) $\beta$ C	
	40–2	Ἀρχὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ βιώσεως E Περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας D Περὶ τῆς πλανήσεως τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῶν στεφάνων E	D2 <sup>2</sup>
2	96	Περὶ τῆς παρατροπῆς $\beta$ Περὶ τῆς παρατροπῆς καὶ ἐκστάσεως τοῦ νοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς κατ'ἐπίδειξιν C Περὶ τῆς παρατροπῆς τῆς ἐξ οἰκείας προαιρέσεως K Περὶ προσποιήσεως E	C2
3	130 (141 E)	Περὶ τῆς προσβολῆς τοῦ διαβόλου $\beta$ Περὶ τῆς προσβολῆς τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου C Περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας τῆς φανείσης αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας μάρτυρος K Περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου E	CK3

<sup>2</sup> As indicated above D treats the prologue and the paragraph on Andrew's background as a separate chapter.

4	176	Περὶ τοῦ φανέντος ὁράματος τῷ ἀγίῳ β Περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου C Περὶ τῶν ἐν ὁράματι φανέντων αὐτῷ K Περὶ τῆς θέας τῶν παλατίων E	CK4
5	218	Περὶ τῆς ἀπολύσεως τοῦ ἀγίου β Περὶ τῆς ἀπολύσεως αὐτοῦ P Περὶ τῆς ἀπολύσεως τῶν δεσμῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς μάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας K Περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ C	C5
	233	Περὶ τῆς <sup>3</sup> τῶν νεωτεριστῶν D	D3
6 ?	298	Περὶ τῶν μιμᾶδων DE	D4 <sup>4</sup>
7	351	Περὶ τοῦ κνιποῦ βCKDE Περὶ τοῦ σκνιφοῦ P	CK7 D5
8	371	Περὶ τῆς προγνώσεως Ἐπιφανίου β Περὶ τῆς προγνώσεως τῶν παίδων K Περὶ προγνώσεως τῶν παίδων CE Περὶ τῆς προγνώσεως τοῦ παιδὸς D Περὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως Ἐπιφανίου P	C8 D6
9	422	Περὶ τῆς βίας τοῦ χειμῶνος βCPDE Περὶ τοῦ σφοδροῦ χειμῶνος K	CK9 D7
10	460 (489 L 505 E)	Περὶ τῆς ἐν χειμῶνι προσγινομένης ὀπτασίας τῷ ἀγίῳ L <sup>5</sup> Περὶ τῆς (τῆς om. C) καρτερίας καὶ ὑπομονῆς αὐτοῦ CKP Περὶ τῆς θέας τοῦ παραδείσου E	K10
11	625 <sup>6</sup>	Περὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀρπαγῆς D Περὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ θαυμάτων C Περὶ τῆς οὐρανίου ἀρπαγῆς P	C11 D8
12	752	Περὶ τῆς εἰς γράϊδα μεταβλήσεως τοῦ σατανᾶ BM Περὶ τῆς εἰς γράϊδα μεταβολῆς τοῦ διαβόλου L Περὶ τῆς μεταβλήσεως τοῦ διαβόλου CDE	C12 K11 <sup>7</sup> D9

<sup>3</sup> The meaningless feminine article reappears 858 and 2676 in the headings numbered 11 and 29 by D. Apparently it was taken over by mistake from the preceding headings.

<sup>4</sup> C has a lacuna stretching from 298 to 335. Originally, therefore, C like DE probably had a heading here, to which it gave no. 6. β indicates a new beginning but has no number. In K there is no indication.

<sup>5</sup> M indicates the beginning of a new chapter here, while B indicates a new beginning at 452. In D there is an empty space but the heading is missing.

<sup>6</sup> K has a lacuna stretching from 533 to 699. There is no indication of a beginning of a new chapter in the β MSS.

<sup>7</sup> One would expect K to have no. 12 here, since the following number is 13. The mistake is apparently due to the fact that K omits 533–699. That the number was corrected in the following heading shows that, with the exception of no. 11, the numbers in K represent an earlier stage in the tradition.



Probable Original Numbers	Location	Headings in the MSS	Numbers
13	816 (793 E)	Περὶ μεταβλήσεως τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς πονηρᾶς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦ K Περὶ τοῦ ὀλοφυρομένου δαίμονος καὶ ὡς γραΐδα φαινομένου P Περὶ τῆς διαλέξεως Ἐπιφανίου μετὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων L Περὶ τῆς μετὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων διαλογῆς Ἐπιφανίου P Περὶ τῆς διαλέξεως Ἐπιφανίου καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων BM Περὶ (add. τοῦ D) Ἐπιφανίου καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων KDE Περὶ Ἐπιφανίου καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος C	K13 D10
14	858	Περὶ (add. τῆς D) Ἐπιφανίου καὶ τῆς συναντήσεως τοῦ διαβόλου KD <sup>8</sup> Περὶ συναντήσεως τοῦ διαβόλου C Διάλεξις καὶ νουθεσία τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀνδρέου πρὸς Ἐπιφάνιον P	C14 D11
15	922 (929 E)	Περὶ τοῦ ἐνψήματος Ἐπιφανίου BMP om. L Περὶ τοῦ ἐνψήματος καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου C Περὶ τοῦ ἐνψήματος DE Περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας τῆς φανείσης τῷ Ἐπιφανίῳ K	C15 D12
16	1001	Περὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου καὶ τοῦ οἰκέτου Ἐπιφανίου <sup>10</sup> β Ἐντευξίς Ἐπιφανίου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ P Περὶ τῆς ἀνοίξεως τῶν πυλῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας <sup>11</sup> K	C16 <sup>9</sup>
17	1033	Ὅπως ἡλεγξεν ὁ ἅγιος τὸν εὐνούχον β Περὶ τῆς προγνώσεως τοῦ εὐνούχου CKDE	C17 D13

<sup>8</sup> E does not indicate the beginning of a new chapter here. Instead it indicates that a new chapter starts at 853, carelessly mistaking the words Περὶ τῆς τρισυποστάτου ἐνιαίας θεότητος for a chapter heading.

<sup>9</sup> Room has been left for a heading in C. That it has not been filled out fits the fact that the heading in K is wrong. Either there was no heading in the model of either of these MSS, or the heading corresponded to that of K, which C recognized as being wrong and therefore omitted.

<sup>10</sup> The words καὶ τοῦ οἰκέτου Ἐπιφανίου make no sense here. They belong to the chapter that begins 1100.

<sup>11</sup> This heading derives from 1291, the only place where it fits the context.

		Περὶ τοῦ εὐνούχου τοῦ φίλου Ἐπιφανίου P	
18	1100	Περὶ τῆς παρατροπῆς τοῦ οἰκέτου Ἐπιφανίου β <sup>12</sup> Περὶ τοῦ οἰκέτου Ἐπιφανίου KE Περὶ τοῦ οἰκέτου τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου C Περὶ τοῦ οἰκέτου τοῦ πατρὸς Ἐπιφανίου P	
19	1154 (1149 E)	Περὶ τῶν (τῶν om. C) οἰκετῶν Ἐπιφανίου CKPDE <sup>13</sup>	D14
	1217	Περὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως τοῦ ὁσίου E	
	1241	Περὶ τοῦ καπήλου τοῦ τύψαντος τὸν μακάριον P	
20	1260 (1253 E)	Περὶ τῆς ἀμάξης βCKDE	C20 <sup>14</sup> D15
	1280	Περὶ τοῦ φλέγεσθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ καύσωνος D	D16
		Περὶ τοῦ φλέγεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ E	
21	1291 (1288 E)	Ὅπως ἀνεώχθησαν αὐτομάτως αἱ θύραι τῆς ἐκκλησίας β Περὶ τῆς ἀνοιξεως τῶν πυλῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας CKE	D17
		Περὶ τῆς ἀνοιξεως τῶν πυλῶν D	
(22?)	1347	Περὶ τῶν σύκων βE <sup>15</sup> Περὶ τῆς βρώσεως τῶν σύκων P	
22 (23?)	1376	Περὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς τοῦ διαβόλου βCK <sup>16</sup>	C22
	1397	Περὶ τῶν κλεπτῶν E	
	1419	Περὶ τῆς συναντήσεως τοῦ διαβόλου βCKD	D18
	1460	Περὶ τοῦ νεανίου τοῦ κλέπτου D Περὶ τοῦ νεανίου τοῦ ..... αντος <sup>17</sup> τὸν μακάριον P	D19
	1498	Περὶ τοῦ ἐξοδίου τοῦ πλουσίου β Περὶ τῆς κηδείας τοῦ πλουσίου K Περὶ τῆς θέας τοῦ πλουσίου CD Περὶ τὸ ἐξόδιον τοῦ ἀνελεήμονο (sic) πλουσίου E	D20

<sup>12</sup> This is the last heading appearing in B. In the following β is represented by ML alone. In D there is space for a heading, although the heading itself is missing.

<sup>13</sup> That β does not have a heading here is perhaps due to the fact that the story beginning 1100 continues 1194.

<sup>14</sup> C does not have a separate number; it may be that the capital K in κεμένου, which is in the margin, should be understood as a number as well as an initial.

<sup>15</sup> D has no heading, although room has been made for one.

<sup>16</sup> As in the preceding case the scribe of D forgot to write the heading for which he had made room. Correspondingly the scribe of E made room for a heading at 1363, which he failed to fill out.

<sup>17</sup> The first five or so letters of the participle are illegible.



Probable Original Numbers	Location	Headings in the MSS	Numbers
	1524	Περὶ τοῦ ἐκκομιζομένου μεγιστάνου P	
	1597	Περὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας τοῦ ἀγγέλου E Περὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως τῆς ἱερωσύνης Ἐπιφανίου C <sup>18</sup>	
		Πρόγνωσις Ἐπιφανίου περὶ ἀρχιερωσύνης E	
		Περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας ἧς εἶδεν καὶ περὶ ὧν προειρήκει τῷ Ἐπιφανίῳ P	
	1658	"Ορασις τῆς ἐκκλησίας KD "Ορασις περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ E	D21
	1687	"Ορασις τὸ ὁποῖός ἐστιν ὁ ὁσιος E	
29	1791	Περὶ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως τῶν ἁγίων (ἀγ. om. L) ἀποστόλων β Περὶ τῆς προγνώσεως τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων CK Περὶ τῆς προγνώσεως τῶν ἁγίων D Περὶ τῆς θέας τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων E "Οτι τῷ βόθρῳ ἐνεπεπτώκει ὁ ὁσιος P <sup>19</sup>	D22
	1819	Πρόγνωσις περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων E	
30	1830	Περὶ τῆς λύπης τῆς γενομένης ἐν τῇ πόλει β Περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ ἀναστεῖλαι (στεῖλαι C) τὴν θνήσιν CKDE	D23
31	1859	Περὶ τοῦ λωποδύτου βCKDE	D24
	1919	Περὶ τοῦ σινάτου καὶ τῶν πρατριῶν K <sup>20</sup>	
32	1952	Περὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Σταυρίῳ A Περὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν ἔχοντος C Περὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ D, L in marg. <sup>21</sup> Περὶ τοῦ φιλαργύρου μοναχοῦ KE Περὶ τοῦ προσφιλοῦς Ἐπιφανίου β Περὶ τοῦ (τοῦ om. C) νεανίσκου CD Ἄλλος λόγος περὶ τοῦ νεανίου K	A32 D25
33	2125		D26

<sup>18</sup> There is no heading in β, but in B (not in ML) a new beginning is indicated by an empty space suited for a capital letter.

<sup>19</sup> This is the last heading in P before 2203. Headings nos. 30–2 are missing since, as mentioned above, a number of fols. corresponding to 1826–2114 are missing. Heading no. 33 is missing because P omits this chapter on purpose.

<sup>20</sup> Although K alone has a heading, βCE indicate the beginning of a new chapter here.

<sup>21</sup> The marginal heading in L was probably written by a second hand. There is no indication of a new chapter in BM.

		Περὶ τοῦ νέου τοῦ προσκολυθέντος <sup>22</sup> τῷ Ἐπιφανίῳ E	
34	2203	Περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ (τοῦ om. K) συμμάθητοῦ Ἐπιφανίου CK Περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ πόρνου E Περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ προσφιλοῦς Ἐπιφανίου P	C34
35	2425	Περὶ Βιγρίνου τοῦ μάγου β Περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἀπατηθείσης παρὰ τοῦ μάγου C Περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπαιδοῦ ἀπατηθείσης P Περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς προσελθούσης τῷ μάγῳ E Περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἣ περιέπεσεν εἰς τὸν μάγον K Περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς D	C35 D27
36	2648	Περὶ τῆς ὁράσεως τοῦ προφήτου Δαυὶδ β Περὶ τῆς ὁράσεως Δαυὶδ τοῦ προφήτου C Περὶ τῆς ὁράσεως τοῦ Δαυὶδ K Περὶ τῆς ὁράσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Δαυὶδ D Περὶ τῆς θέας τοῦ προφήτου Δαυὶδ E Περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας ἧς εἶδεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ἁγίας σοφίας (?) P	C36 D28

As this survey shows the chapter system was wide open to manipulation, with regard to the length of individual chapters as well as with regard to the wording of their headings. Nevertheless it would seem that chapters 1–21 and 29–36 can be located with a fair degree of certainty and also that some of the original headings can be identified. I am thinking of the following: Περὶ τῆς ἀπολύσεως αὐτοῦ (or τοῦ ἁγίου) 218, Περὶ τοῦ κνιποῦ 351, Περὶ τῆς προγνώσεως Ἐπιφανίου (or τῶν παίδων) 371, Περὶ τῆς βίας τοῦ χειμῶνος 422, Περὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν Ἐπιφανίου 1154, Περὶ τῆς ἀμάξης 1260, Περὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς τοῦ διαβόλου 1376, Περὶ τῆς συναντήσεως τοῦ διαβόλου 1419, Περὶ τοῦ λωποδύτου 1859, and, of course, Περὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Σταυρίῳ 1952. Although the evidence is limited, one has the impression that the chapter headings served the purpose of highlighting certain episodes rather than structuring the text. If this was their main function, it is no wonder they were manipulated.

Evidently most headings began with the preposition Περὶ. Whether the original also contained headings beginning with a Ὅπως, as in β at 1033 and 1291, or with a noun, as five times in E, is doubtful. One may also

<sup>22</sup> Read προσκολληθέντος.



doubt that it was provided with headings as long as those found in C at 96 or in K at 218.

As chapter no. 32 is near the middle of the text one would assume that the whole Vita contained between 60 and 70 chapters. Yet these figures are probably too high, as the following examination of the second half of the Vita indicates.

In this part B has no headings at all, although here and there it leaves a small space between two sentences, indicating that something new begins. Also M sometimes indicates a break in the context, and like B it does not contain headings. The last lines on fol. 98, corresponding to 2930f. have been given the shape of an hourglass, as if the Vita were to end here. In the margin of fol. 98<sup>v</sup> one reads the remark ὅρα ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖα πάνυ, referring to the discussion about the aeons that starts 2932. New beginnings have also been indicated at the beginning of the apocalypse 3823 and at 4280. The former beginning is further emphasized by the remark ὅρα καὶ προρρήσεις θαυμαστάς. Also L, the third  $\beta$  MS, lacks headings, although it has been provided with rather frequent large, elaborate capitals. It further has several marginal remarks of the kind found in M. Examples: ὁρᾷτε ἱερεῖς, referring to the story of the fornicating deacon 2827, ὅρα θεωρίαν περὶ ψυχῆς τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀνάγνωσις 2897ff., πρόσχε καλῶς, concerning the question what is found above God 3068, ὅρα ὥραία ἐντευξίς, referring to Epiphanius' prayer 3656ff., ὅρα, referring to the fate of the column in the Forum in the last days 4042, and ὅρα τῆς μαρτυρίας τῆς ἁγίας τὴν ἡδύτητα, referring to the story of the Martyr Theodore 4196ff.

The other  $\beta$  MSS which I have examined, i.e. nos. 19, 30, 31, and 36, also lack headings, except that no. 36 (Y) has the heading Περὶ τοῦ φίλου 'Ραφαήλ 2782. No. 19 alone has chapter numbers, of which no. 37 corresponds to no. 32 in A and no. 56, appearing at 4132, is the last. It seems safe to say therefore that  $\beta$  had no headings after 2648, the one appearing in Y in the top margin of fol. 136 (Περὶ τοῦ φίλου 'Επιφανίου 'Ραφαήλ 2782) probably deriving from another source.

D has seven headings, numbered 29–35, the last at 3759. Together with nos. 1–28 these headings, and no others, also appear in the *pinax*. In the *erotapokriseis* D marks the questions and answers with a marginal ἐρώτησις / ἀπόκρισις. On fol. 166 there is an almost illegible heading referring to 4318, apparently written by a later hand: Περὶ τῆς ... ὁμιλίας τοῦ 'Ανδρέου (?) μετὰ 'Επιφανίου (?).

P, which as we have seen omits several passages, has the same number of headings as D, namely seven, the last at 3805. There are no numbers.

VCKE represent expanded versions. Immediately after 2648 C has eleven short chapters, numbered 37–47 but without headings (app. a). In

the following, no. 81 corresponds to app. *b*, nos. 84–6 to app. *c*, and 113–23 to app. *d*. The last number in C, appearing in app. *e* at ἐτελειώθη δὲ line 114, is 131. Altogether C therefore has 105 chapters, the additional chapters deducted. Of these no fewer than 69 are found after 2648. This is a much higher number than A is likely to have had. The difference is probably mainly due to the fact that C breaks up the *erotapokriseis* into 30 separate chapters and the apocalypse into 18. In the former case A is likely to have had only one and in the latter no more than two or three. If we therefore subtract 29 numbers from the *erotapokriseis* and *c.* 15 from the apocalypse we get about 25 chapters after 2648 and about 61 for the whole Vita, which seems more reasonable. Although C has so many numbers, there are only three headings after 2648, namely at 2869, 2932 and 3559.

V has thirteen headings after 2648, the first at 2676, the last at 4284. Some of the headings are written in the margin, probably by a later hand.

If one disregards two that belong to the Appendices, K has nine headings after 2648, the first appearing at 2782 and the last at 4069. The only chapter numbers in the section is 51 (if my reading is correct) at 2932, 56 at 3615 and 103 at 4069. The former two agree with each other, although they agree neither with the number of the preceding chapters in K nor with the chapter number in A. The number 103 is in complete disaccord with the other numbers in K. Instead it corresponds almost exactly to the number that appears in C at the same point, namely 104.

Apart from the seven that appear in the Appendices, E has 27 headings after 2648, the first at 2714 and the last at 4284. In contrast to the chapters before 2648 some of those after this point have been provided with numbers. The first chapter is numbered 42, although this number does not correspond to the number of chapters before 2648. The last number is 60, appearing at 3805, which is in accord with no. 42. Like C, E subdivides the *erotapokriseis* and the apocalypse into several short chapters, namely the former into seven and the latter into eight chapters.

Here follows a list of the chapter headings and numbers in the second half of the Vita. Those found in the Appendices have been excluded from the list.

Location	Headings	Numbers
2674	Περὶ τῆς <sup>23</sup> τοῦ φειδωλοῦ D	D29
(2676 V)	Περὶ τοῦ πλουσίου τοῦ φειδωλοῦ V	

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 3.



Location	Headings	Numbers
2714	Περὶ τοῦ πολέμου Ἐπιφανίου in marg. V Περὶ τοῦ ἐμπεσόντος εἰς πειρασμὸν τῷ Ἐπιφανίῳ (sic) E	C48 <sup>24</sup> E42
2782	Περὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου Ῥαφαήλ D Περὶ τοῦ Ῥαφαήλ P Περὶ Ῥαφαήλ τοῦ διακόνου K Περὶ τοῦ διακόνου Ῥαφαήλ τοῦ προσφιλεῖ (sic) Ἐπιφανίου E <sup>25</sup>	C49 D30
2869	Περὶ τοῦ πλουσίου C Περὶ τοῦ ἀμαρτήσαντος τὴν ἀγίαν κυριακὴν D Περὶ τοῦ συμμιγέντος τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ τῇ κυριακῇ in marg. V Περὶ τοῦ μεγιστάνου ἄρχοντος E	C50 D31 E44
2893	Περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῆς ψυχῆς V Διδασκαλία τοῦ ἁγίου περὶ ψυχῶν E	C51
2932	Περὶ τῆς συντελείας <sup>26</sup> τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐρώτησις V Περὶ τῆς τῶν αἰώνων συστάσεως K Περὶ τῆς τῶν αἰώνων συστάσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων δημιουργίας καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν C Περὶ αἰώνων E	C52 K51(?) E46
2983–3460		C52–80 E47–52(?) <sup>27</sup>
	Headings only in E: Περὶ ἀγγέλων 2983 Περὶ οὐρανῶν ἐρμηνεία 3054 Διδασκαλία ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου 3086 Περὶ τοῦ θεολόγου Ἰωάννου 3131 Περὶ βροντῆς καὶ ἀστραπῆς 3147 Περὶ διακρίσεως 3339	
3461 (3463 VCK)	Περὶ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ D Περὶ τοῦ τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἐκδοθέντος ἐλεεινοῦ ἀνδρός P Περὶ τοῦ βλασφημοῦντος καὶ ἀπρεπῆ φθεγγομένου V	C82 <sup>28</sup> D32

<sup>24</sup> The preceding nos. 37–47 belong to app. *a*.

<sup>25</sup> In V there is room for a heading, but it has not been filled out.

<sup>26</sup> The context is not eschatological. Read συστάσεως as in K.

<sup>27</sup> The only numbers visible are 48 at 3054 and 49 at 3086. Perhaps one heading is missing between 3147 and 3339. If so the last number should be 53 instead of 52; cf. *infra*, note 33.

<sup>28</sup> For no. 81 see app. *b*.

	Περὶ τοῦ βλασφημήσαντος K	
	Περὶ βλασφημίου E	
3559	Περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκκαλυφθείσης P <sup>29</sup>	C83
	Περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς θεασαμένης τὴν ὀπτασίαν K, in marg. V	
	Περὶ τῆς θεασαμένης τὸν ὅσιον C <sup>30</sup>	
	Περὶ τῆς βλεπούσης τὸν ὅσιον ὡς στύλον πυρός E	
3615	Περὶ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ Ἐπιφανίου P	C87(?) <sup>31</sup> K56 <sup>32</sup>
	Περὶ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου E	
	Περὶ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τοῦ ἐπινεχθέντος (sic) τῷ Ἐπιφανίῳ K	
	Περὶ τοῦ ἐπινεχθέντος πειρασμοῦ τῷ Ἐπιφανίῳ in marg. V	
3683	Περὶ τῆς θέας τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀκακίου DV	D33
(3648 E)	Περὶ τῆς θέας τοῦ μάρτυρος Ἀκακίου E	
3732	Περὶ τῆς θέας τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου	C88 D34
(3736 E)	ἐν βλαχέρναις E	
	Περὶ τῆς θέας τῆς παναγίας ἐν βλαχέρναις D	
	Περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας τῆς γενομένης ἐν βλαχέρναις VK	
	Περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας ἧς ἐν βλαχέρναις ἐθεάσατο μετὰ Ἐπιφανίου P	
3759	Περὶ τοῦ παγκακίστου πλουσίου D	C89 D35
	Περὶ τοῦ ἐξουθενίσαντος αὐτὸν ἄρχοντος P	
	Περὶ τοῦ βδελυξαμένου ἄρχοντος τὸν ὅσιον VE	
	Περὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ βδελυξαμένου τὸν ἅγιον K	
3772		C90
3805	Περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῆς πόλεως P	C91 E60 <sup>33</sup>
	Περὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἐτέρων V	

<sup>29</sup> D has a large capital letter indicating the beginning of a new chapter but no heading.

<sup>30</sup> This is the last heading in C.

<sup>31</sup> I cannot find no. 87 in the MS, but this is the most likely place between 86 and 88.

<sup>32</sup> If app. *b* (Περὶ τοῦ κληρικοῦ) and *c* (Περὶ τῆς προρρήσεως Ἐπιφανίου) are taken into account this number accords with no. 51 (*supra*, 2932).

<sup>33</sup> Instead of ten there are only nine headings between nos. 49 and 60 in E. The missing heading may have been between 3147 and 3339, where there is room for at least one more heading; cf. *supra*, note 27.



Location	Headings	Numbers
	Περὶ τῆς πόλεως πρόγνωσης E 'Αρχὴ ὠδίνων καὶ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως K	
3823	Περὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ τέλους E	C92
3838		C93
3859	Περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀσεβοῦς βασιλεύειν ἐνταῦθα E <sup>34</sup>	C94
3885	Περὶ τοῦ τρίτου ἀσεβοῦς βασιλέως E	C95
3907	Περὶ δ' ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως E	C96
3913	Περὶ ἐτέρου ε' ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως E	C97
3921		C98
3960	Περὶ τῆς αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀνόμου γυναικός E	C99
3989		C100
4003	Περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων E	C101
4037	Ἐρώτησις περὶ τῆς ἀγίας σοφίας sec. m. in marg. D	C102
4051		C103
4069	Περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου καὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου τούτου K	C104 K103 <sup>35</sup>
4077–132		C105–9
4196	Περὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ μάρτυρος E	C110
4625		C111
4824	Περὶ ἀκαταλήπτου θεότητος E, <sup>36</sup> in marg. V	C112 <sup>37</sup>

It is remarkable how the evidence for chapter headings and numbers diminishes after 2648. The most important MSS have nothing at all, while in the others both the wording and the number system vary from MS to MS. Particularly from the point on where the apocalypse begins the evidence is thin and unreliable. In part this may be due to the fact that K and P have another character here than in the beginning of the text and that C, V and partly E, which in addition is highly individualistic throughout the Vita, are contaminated. These MSS represent versions in which everything could be neglected or manipulated. But why do the  $\beta$  MSS, which in other respects

<sup>34</sup> In D the scribe made room for a heading. This room was filled by a later hand with the words ἐνταῦθα ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων.

<sup>35</sup> Obviously this number derives from a model related to C. It does not agree with the preceding figures in K.

<sup>36</sup> E has six more headings in app. *d* and *e*, namely Περὶ ἡλίου ἐρμηνεία *d* 22, Ποία ἔθνη μέλλει κρίνειν ὁ θεός *d* 80, Περὶ τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας *d* 121, Πρόγνωσης τοῦ ὁσίου περὶ τῆς τελειώσεως αὐτοῦ *d* 349, Εὐχὴ τοῦ ἀγίου *e* 81 (E), and Ἐτέρα εὐχὴ *d* 116 (E).

<sup>37</sup> C has nineteen more numbers (113–31) in apps. *d* and *e*, the last at *d* 114.

keep a high and consistent quality, lack headings altogether? A probable explanation is that headings and numbers often were not copied at the same time as the text itself but left for a later occasion;<sup>38</sup> hence some of them could be missed out, or forgotten altogether.

In conclusion I would suggest that A was provided with headings and numbers also in the second half of the Vita but that they were fewer, particularly as it seems unlikely that the *erotapokriseis* (2893–3460), which constitute a considerable part of the latter half of the text, were subdivided into short chapters. The same applies to the apocalypse (3805–4131), although this section may have had one or two subdivisions; cf. the story of Andrew's visit to paradise and heaven (422–737). On the other hand I find it reasonable to assume that after the apocalypse there were headings at 4132, 4196, 4265 and 4365, although there is very little support for this in the MSS. If this is true one may assume that the original Vita had about 55 chapters altogether, i.e. somewhat fewer than one would at first expect.

---

<sup>38</sup> In particular B and D give evidence of this procedure.

## Language and Style

Granted that my understanding of the role of the majuscule fragment (A) is correct, precise information on Nikephoros' language and style is available for about five per cent of VA. To judge from this limited material, Nikephoros wrote a variant of Byzantine Greek characterized by careless spelling, irregular morphology, confusion of cases, tenses and modes, uncertain use of the participle, contaminations, mixture of low and middle or high style vocabulary etc. Although details may differ, the same judgment is valid for the remaining 95 per cent of the text as established in this edition. To give a complete and systematic description of this often expressive but unstable and imprecise language is difficult, and I have neither space enough nor the linguistic competence to do this. What follows is therefore no more than a modest supplement to the remarks made above on the basis of A. My observations have been arranged according to a few categories which I think essential to the understanding of Nikephoros as a writer of Greek.

### Stylistic variation. Awareness of style

On the average, the stylistic level of the Vita is lower than, e.g., that of *VTheophan*, but higher than that of *VPhilar*, BHG 1511z. With regard to vocabulary it is on about the same level as *VPhilar*, BHG 1512.<sup>1</sup> This is not the whole truth, however, for although the style remains on roughly the same level throughout the Vita, it is not uniform as, e.g., in *VMichSynk*, or the reworkings of Symeon Metaphrastes, but changes in other respects from episode to episode according to subject matter and circumstances. Thus it is efficient and straightforward in narratives, emotional and drastic in direct speech, entreating in prayers, matter of fact in explanations of problems, strained and pompous in discussions with the "philosophers", set with extraordinary compounds in visions, and breathless in the apocalyptic

---

<sup>1</sup> See Rydén, "Revised Version", 488.



drama. Nikephoros therefore appears to have been aware of the importance of stylistic variation as a means of achieving literary effect.<sup>2</sup>

This impression is confirmed by the independent way in which he treated his sources. If one compares the story of the single combat with the devil (42–88), the story of the grave robber (1859–918) and the story of the Martyr Theodore (4196–257) with the models on which they are based, it becomes clear that Nikephoros was not a mere copyist or plagiarist but endeavoured to rewrite the motifs he borrowed in his own language, though keeping some of the original flavour; compare, for instance, the following three passages:

*PratSpir*

2933C τινὸς τῶν πρώτων τῆς  
πόλεως ταύτης θυγάτηρ  
παρθενεύουσα ἐτελεύτησε

2933D Οὐκ ἐφοβήθη τὸν  
θεόν;

2936B ἀναπесоῦσα ἀπέθανεν

*VA*

1859–61 ἐτελεύτησε  
θυγάτηρ μεγιστάνου  
τινός· ἦν δὲ ἡ κόρη  
παρθενεύουσα καὶ  
σεμνῶς διάξασα τὸν  
βίον αὐτῆς

1895f. ἔστω οὐκ  
ἐφοβήθη τὸν θεὸν  
οὔτε τοὺς ἀγγέλους  
αὐτοῦ

1905f. ἀναπесоῦσα δὲ ἐν  
εἰρήνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ  
ἐκοιμήθη.

Whereas the story of the grave robber is integrated into *VA* so that its derivation from another source is concealed, the story of the Martyr Theodore is introduced with the words *γέγραπται γάρ*. To judge from the church historians Socrates (III, 18f.), Sozomenos (V, 19f.) and Theodoretos (III, 10f.) it follows its source closely, although it is more detailed. Traces of an archaizing style may be found in Nikephoros' version (see, e.g., 4199 *ξόανον*, 4203 *ἀτρέμα*, 4204 *ὅπου δ' ἂν βούλονται*, 4230 *τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς*), which on the whole is grammatically more correct than most other parts of the *Vita*. Otherwise, however, there is no doubt that Nikephoros told the story in his own words and on a much lower stylistic level than the Early Byzantine church historians. He was not a slave under his forerunners.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion and further examples of stylistic awareness among Byzantine authors, see Ševčenko, "Levels of Style", 292–8.

He also manifests his linguistic awareness by inventing paraphrases such as ὁ τὰ σέλη ἐσθίων (41; 1437) and ἔρωτα τίθεσθαί τινος or ἔρωτα τιθέναι κατὰ τινος (863; 2489f.). The former, the exact meaning of which still eludes me, is used by the devil as an insult. Most probably it is a paraphrase of the equally enigmatic adjective σελοφάγος, which has been found in the *Passio Thyrsi et soc.* (see note 3 to line 41). The latter has the same meaning as the simple phrase φιλεῖν τινα (cf. πεφίληκά σε 3713), but as the person falling in love is the devil, Nikephoros transforms it into an expression which conveys a feeling of danger and discomfort. A similar case is πόθεν ὁ διάβολος εὔρε τοσαύτην παρρησίαν κατ' αὐτῆς (2484f.), where κατ' αὐτῆς has been substituted for πρὸς αὐτήν.

## Biblical flavour

It goes without saying that in addition to numerous scriptural quotations VA also contains many other references to the Bible and biblical Greek. For instance, when a woman is described as εὐλαβῆς καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν κύριον (2425f.) the reader inevitably thinks of the man at Caesarea who was εὐσεβῆς καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν θεόν according to Acts 10:2. Similarly εἰς τῶν ἐναρέτων ... τῷ κυρίῳ (2443f.) is reminiscent of Rom. 14:18, φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν (2015) of Mark 1:11, τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ (2733) of Rom. 2:5, the frequent φόβος καὶ τρόμος of 1 Cor. 2:3, and the many cases of εἶδε, καὶ ἰδοῦ of a familiar formula in the Book of Revelation. It is equally natural that VA contains many of the metaphors for spiritual struggle which appear in the NT — ἀγών, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, στάδιον, δρόμος, τρέχω, πάλη, παλαίω etc. — as well as many of those which developed later, of which μονομαχία is the most important.<sup>3</sup> For the occasional qualitative genitive, a Hebraism, see below.

## Vocabulary

### *High style vocabulary*

\* Ακροάομαι (five times), ἦκω, πέλω, προσπέλω; ἀκρόασις (in the prologue), ἀνάκτορα, ἄστν, βελτίωσις, διδασκαλεῖον, κάρα and κορυφή (for

<sup>3</sup> Note on the other hand that the otherwise common terms ἀποταγή and ἀποτάσσομαι do not occur; even ἄσκησις is lacking. The obvious reason for this is that Andrew was a layman.



the more common κεφαλή), ξόανον (in the story of the Martyr Theodore), σεμνολόγημα and πηλίκως (in Eriphianos' disputation with the "philosophers"), συγγράφω and σύγγραμμα (in the epilogue); ἀτρέμα (in the story of the Martyr Theodore), ἄτε (1782, and with dat. 2957, cf. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, *VEuthymPatrCP*, 234), δίκη; ἄνευ (four times) and δίχα (once) contrasting with the non-use of χωρίς; τε, τοιγαροῦν, τοίνυν. This type of vocabulary is in line with phrases like συνέβη γενέσθαι 2592 (common in Prokopios and other historians, twice in *VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz), αἰρετικῶν παῖδες 3408, ὁ πολὺς πόθος ἔλκει με τοῦ ἐξομολογήσασθαι σοι 461 and several cases of complicated word order (see below).

### *Low style vocabulary*

Αἰγιόμαλα, ἀκαμάτης, ἀναφάλας, ἀναχυδιάζω, ἀπλικεύω, ἄρουλα, ἄς, αὐτρότουβον, ἀφούρα, βαβύζω, βάλλω (in the sense 'begin'), βίγλα, βισσήριον, βοράδιον, γρόνθος, δηλάτωρ, δραγάτης, ἐνορδίνως, ἔξηχος, ζοφώνω, θέρμια, καθαροπότης, κάλανος, κανδήλα, κάτα, κέρκετον, κόσσος, μανουάλιον, ὀροφάσουλον, ὀψίκιον, πάκτον, παλλίον, πανίον, παξαμάτιον, πράτρια, ρόγα, σάβανον, σαλός, σάσσω, σκαμνίον, τίτλος, φελώνιον, φουσκάριον. To this may be added idiomatic phrases such as οὕτως ἔχεις τὸν Χριστόν 58, ἀγαπᾷς με 380 and κακῶς καὶ οὐ θέλω 3611. It should be noted that, as I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> the low style vocabulary of VA is not identical with the one appearing in Early Byzantine popular literature, partly because it contains words which do not occur in the Early Byzantine period, partly also because many low style words and expressions which were frequent then are missing in VA, although some of them can be found in the technical treatises of Constantine Porphyrogenetos and other authors close to the court.<sup>5</sup>

### *Synonyms*

Just as VA contains several episodes illustrating the same phenomenon so it does contain many words with similar meaning. The simple εἰμί is often replaced by more conspicuous verbs like καθίσταμαι, καθέστηκα, πέλω, πέφυκα, περίεμι, πρόσσειμι, προσπέλω, τυγχάνω, ὑπάρχω and χρηματίζω;

<sup>4</sup> Rydén, "Style", 179f.

<sup>5</sup> For the vocabulary of other versions than the one closest to the original, see Rydén, "Zum Wortschatz", 229–33.



in addition, ἔνι is frequent in the *erotapokriseis*. The words for ‘fool’, ‘black’ and ‘dark’ may illustrate this tendency towards variety further. The most common word for ‘fool’ is σαλός, which occurs 25 times. It is followed by ἔξηχος (23), παρατετραμμένος and παρατραπείς (17), μωρός (9), πάρετος (5), δαιμονῶν (5), παραπεφυρμένος (4), παραφρονῶν (3), δαιμονιάριος (2), δαιμονιζόμενος (2) and μαινόμενος (2). Also μάταιος is often best rendered by ‘fool, foolish, stupid’. These words often appear in pairs, as for instance at 92 δαιμονῶντος καὶ μαινομένου, 247f. μωροὶ καὶ σαλοί, 313 σαλὸς καὶ δαιμονῶν, 1932f. ἔξηχος καὶ παρατετραμμένος. The most frequent word for ‘black’ is μέλας (about 15 times), followed by μαῦρος (4) and μεμελανωμένος (3). For ‘dark’ or ‘darkened’ Nikephoros most often uses ζοφερός but also ζοφώδης, ξεξοφωμένος, σκοτεινός, ἔσκοτισμένος, ἡσβολωμένος and, of Hades, ἀφεγγής. A comparison with *VSymSal* shows that VA has a greater variety of synonyms and a lower frequency of low style words such as σαλός and μαῦρος.<sup>6</sup>

### *Word formation*

There are numerous compounds, the meaning of which is most often clear, although they may be unusual, as in the case of ἀρρενοθηλυμανής, ἀστραπόκαυστος, ἀστραπούφαντος, ἐκκλησιοεμπάικτης, ἑτεροφυής, χιονόπτερος, χρυσοφυής. There are, however, also a few compounds which do not follow the usual pattern and whose meaning therefore is less obvious: ἀλληλόληπτος ‘touching each other’, ἑτερόθεος ‘of different appearance’, κυριοπρεσβεύτρια ‘the Lady who intercedes with the Lord’, πορνοκάπηλος ‘whore-monger’, φοβερόβαφος (κόκκινος φοβερόβαφος ‘marvellously red’). One further notes a few compounds containing the productive suffixes -βολος, -κοπος, -λογος, -τροπος : γυροβολῶ ‘rotate’, ματαιοκοπέομαι ‘labour in vain’, τρίλογος ‘threefold’ and μονότροπος ‘invariable’. Four verbs have been provided with the suffix -νω: ἐρηνώνω, ζοφώνω, ὀλεννύνω, and τεφρώνω.<sup>7</sup>

### *Ambiguous or doubtful verbs*

Ἄπειμι usually means ‘go, come’ but, if the text is sound, means ‘put, bring’ at 3494 and 3771. — ἀποκρίνομαι ‘answer’, but also ‘utter’ 405 and

<sup>6</sup> See further Rydén, “Style”, 180. It may also be noted that of the words for ‘white’ λευκός is common, whereas ἄσπρος, which occurs in *VSymSal*, is missing.

<sup>7</sup> On the spread of the verbal suffix -νω in the early Middle Ages, see Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, 65.

4279. — ἀποτηρέω probably means 'await' at 2528 and 'to have spotted, know' at 275 and 344. It may have been confused with ἐπιτηρέω, which is the reading of β in the two latter instances. — ἀποφράττω 'block up' (cf. τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐναπέφραξε 1344) means 'open up' at 4051; cf. Demetrakos s.v., 2. — ἐπαίρω seems to be used as ἀπαίρω 3924 and 3936. — καταφέρω 'bring down' is used in the opposite sense 3512. — κομίζομαι 'receive' (so 1612, 3822 etc.) means 'bring' 3680 and 4186.

## Morphology

### *The noun*

The dat. sing. κανδήλα (2628) alternates with κανδήλη (2460). Metaplastic forms: gen. sing. θρήνους (twice), μέσεως (three times), φιάλεως (twice);<sup>8</sup> dat. pl. εἰκόνας (2513).

### *The adjective*

The dat. sing. of γλυκὺς and ἡδύς is γλυκύ (198) and ἡδύ (200).<sup>9</sup> Πλήρη stands for πλήρες (2118). The dat. pl. of βαθύς is βαθέοις (3643). μείζων and μέγιστος are replaced by μεγεθέστερος and μεγεθέστατος (μεγεθέστερον 3234, μεγεθεστάτην 3737). Παραπλήσια stands for παραπλησία (εὐωδία ... παραπλήσια 3671f.).

### *The verb*

Among the personal endings one notices εἶς (1109) for εἶ, which otherwise is the normal form also in VA, συνοῖδας (1070) for σύννοισθα, ἀναγκάζεσαι (2765), ἀντιτάσσεσαι (2766) and εὐρίσκεσαι (4296) for ἀναγκάζη etc., δύνῃ (2266f.) for δύνασαι (so 2268 etc.), δῆσαι (2709) for δῆσον, χρήσαι (2251) for χρήσον (so 2305), ἀφείλασι (1206) for ἀφείλον. Among the future forms κομίση (68) and ἀποθάνουσι (4096) are the most remarkable, among the participles ἀπωλεσμένος (2855), δαχθεῖς (3619, a conflation of δακείς and δαχθεῖς), παρεξάση (2617, a mixture of future and

<sup>8</sup> To the examples quoted by Psaltes, *Grammatik*, 174, add VStephIun, PG 100, col. 1129, note 13, VMichSynk, ed. Cunningham, 78,11, app. crit., and Halkin, *Inédits*, no. 10,3,3.

<sup>9</sup> In the expanded version one also notices the n. pl. θῆλυ app. c 6.



aor. forms), and συνδώσας (302, cf. Jannaris, § 996,51). Note also the fem. form of the perf. part. act. at 3048 (πεπηγώσα) and 3587 (ἀνεωγώσα). ἐνι = ἐστιν 2954 etc.

## Orthography

That the orthography of the majuscule fragment (A), i.e., presumably, of Nikephoros himself, is irregular has been stated above. Here I shall mention a few examples of the spelling habits of β, which are a little more sober, though far from meeting the classical norm. Whether these examples, which are sometimes supported by other MSS, also reflect the spelling of A is an open question.

Αὐτρότουβον is a dvandva compound consisting of ἄτρον 'wick' and τουβίν 'holder' (in the form of a metal tube), and one would therefore expect it to be spelt ἀτρότουβον, which in fact appears in some MSS. Yet the spelling of β receives some support from the variant reading ἀπτόπται for αὐτόπται in Halkin, *Inédits*, no. 2,11, which shows that αὐτ- and ἀπτ- were interchangeable. For the pronunciation cf. *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, ed. M. Pichard (Paris, 1956), 1274 ἐκάφθησαν = ἐκαύθησαν.

Κάλανος, καλανίσκος, καλανώδης stand for κάναλος etc., see Vocabulary and notes ad loc.

Κόνσος is β's spelling of κόσσος 'slap', which occurs in A although with the accent placed on the ultima. The nasalized form most probably derives from Latin loan-words such as πρόκενσος, cf. Psaltes, *Grammatik*, 80–2, esp. § 166.

λύμη, λυμικός stand for λοίμη, λοιμικός, see Vocabulary. Whether this spelling is simply itacistic or intended to reflect the symptoms of the disease (cf. διελύθη τὰς ἀρμονίας 2398) is hard to tell.

μυκάομαι, μυκάω, μυκίζω, which stand for μωκάομαι and μωκίζω or μουκίζω (see Vocabulary), are difficult to explain. Perhaps the -υ- comes from μυκτηρίζω, or μουκίζω misread as μοικίζω.

συμμειδιάω is lacking in LSJ, Lampe, Sophocles and Demetrakos but is quoted in the TGL from Psellos in the form συμμειδιάω, which one would expect also in VA.

χυδιάζω, ἀναχυδιάζω stand for χυδαίζω, ἀναχυδαίζω as in *VNiph*, see Vocabulary. Verbs ending with -ιάζω appear to have become popular, cf. *VNikMet* 75,41 ἀφειδιάζω and 74,3 ἐγχωριάζω.



## Syntax

### Case

*The separative genitive.* The proportions between separative genitive and prepositional phrase after verbs denoting separation vary from case to case. For example, there are two instances of the phrase 'to get up from one's bed', both with genitive (34f., 2392). ἀναχωρεῖν is followed by genitive six times (τῶν ἐκεῖ or τῶν ἐκεῖσε 406, 1254, 1595, 1950f.; τοῦ τόπου 1934), by ἀπό + noun once (1217). ἀφιστάναι and ἀφίστασθαι are accompanied by genitive of a noun three times (1440; 2143f.; 4216f.), by ἐκ τῶν δύο once (379) and by preposition + a personal pronoun seven times. ἀποδιδράσκειν and διαδιδράσκειν are construed with the genitive of a noun three times (94; 325; 1432f.), with ἀπό + a noun once (3506) and with ἀπό + an adverbial phrase twice (948; 2549). λύεσθαι is followed by genitive once (222) and by ἐκ once (2891). ἐκβάλλω in the sense 'throw out' is followed by genitive (336f.), in the sense 'remove, take out' by ἐκ (149; 971). And, to take a last example, ἐξελεθεῖν is combined with the genitive of a noun 413 and 1507, with τῶν ἐκεῖσε once (1763), with a preposition + a noun four times (246; 254f.; 1479; 3210), and with ἀπό + a pronoun once (319). Thus the separative genitive, a classicistic feature, plays an important role also in VA, as in several other seemingly low-brow texts.<sup>10</sup>

*Genitive for dative.* As might be expected, the genitive sometimes replaces the dative, as in the phrases σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν (345), κακὴ σου ὥρα ἐφῆστηκεν (1425), σύμμορφον θέαν κεκτημένος τοῦ ... (1763), τῶν δαιμόνων ἐφάμιλλα (1882), τὰ τούτων παραπλήσια (1991), ἐναντία μου εἰσι (1997).

*The qualitative genitive.* On the pattern of Hebrew, in biblical Greek the genitive of a noun can replace an adjective.<sup>11</sup> This pattern is also represented in VA, partly in the form of borrowings from the Bible such as τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὕδατος (97f., cf. Gen. 24:11 par.), σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς (124, cf. Acts 9:15), φλοῦς πυρός (1314; 1600; 1675, cf. Acts 7:30), ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτός (2324, cf. Dan. 7:13), and ἄσματα τῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως (570, cf. Ps. 41:4 par. ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως), partly in the form of other phrases of a similar kind, such as ῥήματά τινα τοῦ φυρμού (99, cf. 237 τὰ παράφρονα

<sup>10</sup> Cf. C. Fabricius, *Zu den Jugendschriften des Johannes Chrysostomos* (Lund, 1962) 24–54.

<sup>11</sup> See BDR, § 165.

αὐτοῦ ῥήματα), τὴν ἐπίτνοιαν τῆς εὐωδίας (561, cf. 586 πνεῦμα ἔπνευσεν εὐωδέστατον), βόθρον ... ὀρύγματος (1797f.), πνεύματι πονηρίας (2450), ῥήματα τῆς αὐτοῦ κακουργίας (2462f.), ἔργα δικαιοσύνης (3521), and πάντας τῆς ἀπωλείας (3960).

In other cases the role of the genitive is less obvious, as in τῷ παλλίῳ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ‘with the sleeve of his cloak’ (973) and τῷ δέει βληθεὶς τῆς ἀγάπης ‘seized with fear because of his love for him’ (2788). Possibly the qualitative genitive has delivered the pattern also in these cases.

*The dative.* As the dative case disappeared from spoken Greek its status increased in the written language. Some writers, as for instance the authors of *VTheophan* and *VEuthymPatrCP*, therefore used it to excess.<sup>12</sup> Also in *VA* it sometimes appears in the “wrong” context, although it rather tends to give way to the accusative. The most conspicuous cases are: οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐζήτει τινί (341f.),<sup>13</sup> οὕτως ἡρνήσω κόσμον καὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ (2065f.),<sup>14</sup> and βλέπον τοῖς ὧδε τί εἰσι γεγραμμένα (2339). As in *VEuthymPatrCP*<sup>15</sup> λανθάνειν is sometimes followed by the dative (2836; 3790). Also κάμνω (ἰδοὺ τί σοι ἔκαμον 3983) and ὀσφραίνομαι (τῇ ἡδυτάτῃ γλυκύτητι ὀσφραίνόμενος 4184f.) are followed by the dative. The dative of agent, of which there is only one clear case in the NT,<sup>16</sup> appears six times in *VA*, namely at 1416 (ἐξετασθήσῃ τῷ δαίμονι), 1465f. (ἐλήφθη τῷ πονηρῷ πνεύματι), 1685f. (τῷ θεράποντι ... ἐπιτελούμενα), 2443 (ἤκουσται μοι τὰ κατὰ σέ), 2797 (τὰ ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένα) and 3520 (τῶν προσημαρτημένων σοι). On occasion the dative is used in a rather loose fashion, as 1511f. (τῷ ἀέρι περιπετόμενοι), 1971f. (γραφὴν ... φερομένην σκοτεινοῖς γράμμασι), 3037f. (εἰς δὲ ... υἱὸς διπλαῖς ταῖς φύσεσι προσαγορεύεται), 3792 (οἷς ἐχράτο τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ).

*The accusative.* This case has a wide range of application in *VA*. In addition to its traditional use it also appears<sup>17</sup>

- after ἀπό 1213f. (ἀπὸ τὴν σήμερον), 3769 (ἀπὸ Ἀμαστραν) and 3771 (ἀπὸ ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν).
- instead of the dative indicating an indirect object after ὑποβάλλω

<sup>12</sup> See Patricia Karlin-Hayter, *VEuthymPatrCP*, 234–6; *VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz, 6,4 τοῖς ... προποδίσμασιν ἀναλαβοῦσα, 23,3 τῷ θεῷ παρεκάλει etc.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 10.

<sup>14</sup> But μισήσας κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ (1278). Cf. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, op. cit., 234.

<sup>15</sup> Op. cit., 236.

<sup>16</sup> *BDR*, § 191.

<sup>17</sup> Here as elsewhere in this chapter the survey does not claim to be complete.



(1887f.), κατάθεμα (1912), προσφέρω (1929f.), μεσιτεύω (3757). Since four of these examples derive from A, it is reasonable to think that this particular accusative is underrepresented in the other parts of the edition.

- instead of the dative indicating the owner: θλίψίς με διὰ σὲ ... καθέστηκε (2045f.). Note that this example also belongs to the A section.
- after verbs normally construed with the genitive or with a preposition followed by the genitive: ἐπιμελέομαι (945f.), μιμνήσκομαι (2310), γέμω (2516), χρήζω (2839); ἀπόζω (3799), πλέκω (491f. κλάδον ... πεπλεγμένον κρίνα καὶ ῥόδα, corresponding to 515f. πεπλεγμένος ἐκ).
- after verbs normally construed with the dative: ἐκπλήττομαι (997f.; with dative 1346), φιλιόω (1377), δεῖ (1387), συναντάω, καθυπαντάω (1499; 3705), δουλεύω (2084f.), χρίω (2628, with gen. 2508), ἀναμίγνυμαι (2723), ἀλείφω (2861), δοκεῖ (4197). χράομαι is sometimes construed with the dative (526; 1410; 1417; 2070; 2305, active form; 2391; 2567; 2802; 3642; 3792), sometimes with the accusative (349; 1065; 1079; 1368f.; 2448; 4064f.). At 980f. εὐχαριστῶ is followed first by a dative, then by an accusative.
- after ἐπί indicating cause after the verbs χαίρω (17), λυπέομαι (108), ξενίζομαι (127f.), ἀγωνιάω (444), θαμβέομαι (965f.), εὐφραίνομαι (1584), ἐκπλήττομαι (1706f.). More often, however, verbs of this kind are followed by ἐπί plus the dative or by the dative alone.
- after ἐπί indicating being at (a place), as in ἐπὶ τὸν ὄμον σου κάθεται (356).
- in indication of point of time: οἶαν ὥραν (2925f.), τὴν αὔριον (3516).
- in indication of price: τὴν μίαν (scil. φόλλιν) ἡγόρασας λάχανα, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ... καὶ τὰς πέντε (359f.).
- after ὥς: ὥς νύκτα καχέσπερος (2051); in this case, however, νύκτα may have been considered a nominative form.
- after words indicating similarity: παρόμοιος (2660). Otherwise such words are followed by the genitive or dative.

### *Numerals, pronouns and pronominal expressions*

Note εἷς καθ'εἷς 'one by one' 151 etc.; ἐκ μιᾶς 'all at once' 2983; — ὁ ἕτερος 'one of the others' 262 etc.; — τὰ ἑκάτερα μέρη 'the two sides' 46, ἑκάτεροι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί 'our two eyes' 836, ἢ ἐν ἑκατέροις περιθέουσα 'pervading both' 843, τὸ νοερὸν τῆς διανοίας ἑκατέρω κοινωνία συνδιακελεύομενον 'the intellectual part of the mind co-operates with the other part



when it gives orders' 823f., ἐκατέρας δὲ τῆς ἐργασίας δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ἐξάρχοντες 'each of the two practices has its own ruler' 906f.; — ποῦ and ὅπου used as relative pronouns 2071 and 3202; — αὐτόν = ἐαυτόν 743.

Remarkable is the variety of expressions indicating reciprocity: εἰς τὸν ἓνα δακτυλοδεικτοῦντες 'pointing him out to each other' 2130; εἰς τὰ ἐαυτῶν σώματα ἁμαρτάνουσιν 'they sin against each other's bodies' 3386; ἦν ἡ ἀγάπη μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων πολλή 'they loved each other dearly' 1038; ὀργισθέντες ἑαυτοῖς δώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις πόλεμον καθ' ἑαυτοὺς 'becoming angry with each other they will go to war with each other' 3923f.; ἔσονται ἀλλήλων ἐπιβουλαί 'men will conspire against each other' 3963f.<sup>18</sup>

### *Prepositions, proper and improper*

The following prepositions, proper and improper, appear in VA (frequency indicated after each item): ἅμα 7, ἅμα σύν 1, ἀνά 2 (acc. 1, gen. 1), ἀναμέσον 1, ἄνευ 5, ἀντί 14, ἀπό 187 (acc. 3, with adv. 1, gen. 183), ἄτε with dat. 1, διὰ 175 (acc. 103, gen. 72), δίκην 2, ἐγγιστα 3, εἰς 364, εἰς τάξιν 2, ἐκ/ἐξ 173, ἐκείθεν 1, ἐκτός 3, ἔμπροσθεν 6, ἐν 590, ἐναντι/ἐναντίον 3, ἐνδοθεν 1, ἐνδον 9, ἐνεκα/ἐνεκεν 17 (ἐνεκα 3, after the main word, ἐνεκεν 14, mostly before the main word), ἐν μέσῳ 8, ἐνώπιον 5, ἔξω 3, ἐπάνω 10, ἐπί 244 (acc. 101, gen. 87, dat. 56), ἐπὶ ... κύκλῳ 1, ἔσωθεν 1, ἔως 12, κατὰ 137 (acc. 99, gen. 38), κατὰ τάξιν 1, κατέναντι 2, κύκλῳ 10, λόγῳ 1, μέσον 15, μέσον εἰς 1, μετὰ 151 (acc. 48, gen. 103), μεταξὺ 8, μέχρι(ς) 19, μήκοθεν 2, ὅπιθεν 5, παρὰ 53 (acc. 2, gen. 50, dat. 1), πάρεξ 1, περί 73 (acc. 6, gen. 67), πλησίον 22, πρό 29, πρὸς 209 (acc. only), σύν 29, σύνεγγυς 1, ὑπέρ 47 (acc. 21, gen. 26), ὑπεράνω 3, ὑπό (acc. 1, gen. 44), ὑποκάτω 14, χάριν 10. Thus, in the order of frequency, the ten most common prepositions in VA are ἐν, εἰς, ἐπὶ, πρὸς, ἀπό, διὰ, ἐκ, μετὰ, κατὰ, περί.

Cases following prepositions are sometimes interchangeable. This applies especially to ἐπὶ, cf. 356 ἐπὶ τὸν ὁμὸν σου κάθηται with 1823 ἐπὶ θρόνου καθημένον, 97f. ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ ... ἐπορεύθη with 1192 ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς κατελθών, and 108 λυπηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ συμβάν with 2214 ἐλυπηθῆ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ, but also to κατὰ, cf. 2033f. κατ' ἐμοῦ ἦκεις with 3946 κροτήσουσι πόλεμον ... καθ' ἑαυτούς, to ὑπέρ, cf. 1044 εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ τὸ φαινόμενον with 3637 ὅπως συντύχη ὑπὲρ τούτου, and to ἅμα, which at

<sup>18</sup> A similar confusion may be observed in *VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz, 21,26 ὁ νοῦς τῇ αἰσθήσει πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχολάζων 'the intellect collaborating with the sense perception'.

105f. is followed by two cases in the same context; ἅμα τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ πάντων. On the other hand one notices that there are only three examples of accusative after ἀπό and no example of accusative after ἐκ, ἐν, μετά (in the sense of 'with') or of gen. after σύν.

More remarkable, however, is the high degree of interchangeability between the prepositions themselves, as in the following examples, many of which reveal an ambition to vary the diction:

- ἅμα/σύν: ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ or ῥήματι 625, 636, 1175; σύν τῷ λόγῳ 383, 495, 502 etc.
- ἅμα/μετά/σύν/ἅμα σύν 105 (ἅμα), 117, 134 etc. (μετά), 3001, 4118 etc. (σύν), 4124 (ἅμα σύν)
- ἐν/εἰς: εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα ... ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι 2622f.
- ἐν/εἰς/ἐπὶ in the sense of being in a building: ἐν τῷ ναῷ 218; εἰς παλάτια βασιλικά 177; ἐπὶ καλύβης 4375
- ἐν/ἐπὶ in the phrase "do something to somebody": ἐν αὐτῷ διεπράχθησαν 1197; ἐπ' αὐτῇ καθεισπράξασθαι 1868; see also 1132, 1143, 1144f.
- εἰς/ἐπὶ in the phrase "happen to somebody": γέγονεν εἰς ἐμέ 509, τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν γεγονότα 1198, τὰ ... ἀποβησόμενα εἰς σέ 4320f.; γεγονέναι ἐπ' αὐτῷ 453, γενέσθαι ... ἐπ' αὐτόν 866.
- εἰς/πρός: διέβαινε πρὸς τὸ παλάτιον ... προήρχετο εἰς τὸ παλάτιον 2870–2.
- ἐπὶ/παρά/πρός: ἐπὶ τὸν ἄδην 1928; παρὰ τὸν ἄδην ... πρὸς τὸν ἄδην 2398–401.
- παρά/ἀπό in the phrase "hear from somebody": 2411f. (παρά); 2935f. (ἀπό).
- παρά/ὑπό marking the agent: both are common, although the agent is more often marked by παρά at the beginning of VA and more often by ὑπό toward the end.
- περί/ἀπό in the phrase "care about": μέλει τινὶ περὶ 162, 267; μέλει τινὶ ἀπὸ 1426
- ἐν/εἰς/ἐπὶ/ὑπό in the phrase "in the air": ἐν τῷ ἀέρι 2517, 3214, 4060; ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος 1804, 1808, 1809 etc.; εἰς ἀέρα 4125; ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος 668 (note also τῷ ἀέρι without preposition 1511).
- ἐν/ἐπὶ/περί/πρός expressing purpose: ἐν τούτῳ 'for this reason' 2444, ἐν μιάσματι χρήσονται 4064f.; ἐπὶ διορθώσει ... ἀφίκετο 2032f.; περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργου 'for the sake of good works' 324; πρὸς καθαρισμόν 1630f.
- διά/ἐπὶ/κατά/περί/ὑπέρ 'about': 2133 etc. (διά); 868f. (ἐπὶ + dat.); 2443 (τὰ κατὰ σέ); 376 etc. (περί); 1044 (ὑπέρ + acc.), 2103 (μνεῖαν ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιεῖν, cf. 2 Tim. 1:3).



- ἐκ/ἀπὸ/ὑπέρ/διὰ/περί expressing cause: ἐκ περιεργίας ... ἀπὸ ἐπιληψίας 1256f.; ἐθορύβει ... ὑπέρ τε τοῦ παιδός ... καὶ δι' ὧν 1421–2; ὑπέρ τί ‘why’ 3131; ἀπαιτεῖσθαι δίκας περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ὧν ἀπώλεσε 4120f.

Lastly I would like to point out the following special cases:

- ἀπό: in other texts ἀπὸ κόπου usually means ‘tired’,<sup>19</sup> but at 2058 (μὴ ἀπὸ κόπου σου ἐστὶ) it rather means ‘from work’, ‘by work’, and at 2482f. (ὥς ἀπὸ κόπου ῥυσθεῖσα) ‘with difficulty’. At 2025 (ἀπὸ γραφῆς), 2126 (ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν) and 2606 (ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως) it has the meaning ‘with the help of’, which is similar. At 4163f. (εἰπέ μοι, εἰ ἔχεις τι ἀπὸ θεωρίας) it seems to mean ‘thanks to’.
- εἰς: indicates price 58 (εἰς τί πιπράσκεις αὐτούς;) and 333 (εἰς μιλιάρησιον); cause 855 (καταπλαγέντες εἰς), 2777 (εἰς τοῦτο ... ἐρυθρίας;), 3476 (ἡυφραίνοντο εἰς); cause mixed with purpose 2215f. (ἐμαίνετο εἰς τὰ ... πάχη τῶν γυναικῶν), 2765 (ὅσον ἀναγκάζεσαι εἰς τὴν κίνησιν καὶ πύρωσιν τῆς σαρκός), 2870f. (παρενοχληθεὶς εἰς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς πύρωσιν εἰς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ), 2884 (ὕλακτεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν σου); means mixed with purpose 891f. (θέλων εἰς ἐπιθυμίας αἰσχροῦ), 2562f. (εἰς αἰσχροῦ ἐννοίας ... καταφλέγειν).
- μετά: indicates the interlocutor in the phrases μοναχόν τινα ... μεθ' ἑτέρου τινὸς ... λόγον κινούντας 1953–5, ταῦτα τοῦ δικαίου λέγοντος μετὰ Ἐπιφανίου 2869, ταῦτα τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀνδρέου μετὰ τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου ὁμιλήσαντος 3453.
- πλησίον: this improper preposition is more frequent than one would expect with regard to its traditional meaning. In fact it is often used instead of other prepositions or the dative alone, as at 1968 πλησίον τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἐγγίσας (cf. 3655 ἤγγισε τῇ θήκῃ), 3462–5 ἔτυχε τοῦ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν λιθίνην πόρταν ... ὥς οὖν εἴρηται ὅτι πλησίον τῆς λιθίνης πόρτης ἐγένετο, 1300f. ὥς δὲ πλησίον τῶν προθύρων ἐγένετο (cf. 1921 γενόμενος κατέναντι τῆς μεγάλης πύλης τοῦ Σινάτου); see further, e.g., 1352 πλησίον τῶν ὁπωρῶν ἀπαγαγόντες and 2933 πλησίον (‘at’) τῆς φιάλεως καθεσθέντες. Ἐγγιστα with gen. is used three times (362, 1124, 1526) and in a similar way. Ἐγγύς, on the other hand, does not appear with gen. in VA, although it was used as a preposition by Theophanes Confessor.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 11–13.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, 15ff.



### The verb

*Tense.* In the present tense one notices the imp. ἀπόθνησκε ... ἀπόθνησκε 483.

Not surprisingly there are many examples of perf. in aor. sense, see 1147 (κέκληκεν), 1734 (εἰσεληλύθαμεν), 1752 (ἑώρακεν), 2466 (δέδωκεν) etc. Γέγονα and forms thereof are particularly common in aor. sense, but γεγονέναι may also refer to the future, as appears from 385 (γεγονέναι προεφήτευσεν).<sup>21</sup> In addition, the perfect form can replace the present, as at 687, 689 (κεκραγέναι), 2077 (μεμίσηκεν, cf. John 15:24), and 3259 (πεποιηκέναι), perhaps also at 1436 (καταβέβληκας).

Examples of pluperfect in aor. or perf. sense: 499 (εἰσεληλύθει), 818 (ἔδεδοίκεισαν), 2414 (ἐγεγόνει). Ἦιδειν oscillates between the pres. and the imperf. meaning, cf. 125 ('know' or 'knew'), 366 ('know'), 446 and 447 ('know' rather than 'knew'), 2774 ('know'), and 4149 ('don't you know?' or 'did you not know?'); cf. *VNiph*, ed. Rystenko, 36,29 Οἱμοὶ τῷ ἀμαρτωλῷ, τί νὰ ποιήσω οὐκ ᾔδειν 'I don't know what to do'.

Periphrastic conjugation is common in VA, often in the familiar form εἶναι + participle, see, e.g., 88 (ἦν θαυμάζων), 802f. (ἦν ... συναντήσας), 1860 (ἦν ... παρθενεύουσα καὶ σεμνῶς διάξασα), 2450 (ἔσται περιάγων), 2823f. (ἦν συμπεποτισμένος). On occasion we find ὑπάρχω or χρηματίζω with a participle, as at 4392f. (ὑπάρχων κατηριθμημένος) and 4033 (κωμωδούμενοι χρηματίζοντες). More characteristic, however, are combinations with καθέστηκα and ἵσταμαι. The former verb appears only four times, always in the second person singular, namely 1407 (ἄρπάζων κ.), 1414 (ἐσθίων κ.), 1429 (πράττων κ.), and 2039 (ἀδικῶν με κ.), whereas the second appears frequently and in various forms, see for instance 1717 (ἵσταμαι ἐναποσκοπῶν), 1924 (ἵστασαι βλέπων), 1925 (ἐντρανίζων ἔστηκα), 2035 (ἔστηκὼς ἡεροοῦ), 2071 (ἵσταται κατέχων). Finite form and participle may change places, as at 1948f. (τίνα ... βλέπεις ἱστάμενος) and 3489 (ἱστάμενοι ἐθρήνουν), or both verbs may have participle form and be coordinated by καί, as at 50 (ἐστώτος καὶ ἀκροωμένου). In the phrase δαίμονα ... ἀνθρωπείας κόπρου ἐστώτα καὶ ἀποπνέοντα 2727f. the close connection between ἵσταμαι and the main verb is particularly evident.

*Mood.* The indicative of the pres. and future tense appears in imperative sense at 3349–51 (συντρίψεις ... κωλύσεις ... ἀποδώσεις ... κρινεῖς ... διακρίνεις). At 2039 the indicative is used in a prohibitive clause (μὴ ...

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *VEvaristi*, ed. Van de Vorst, 316,27 ὡς ἐν τῷ τέως μὴ τεθνηκέναι, referring to the future.

καθέστηκες). Of indicative after ἵνα there are several examples, see, e.g., 203 (ἵνα ἐπίσταμαι), 3183 (ἵνα ἐπίστασαι), 4321 (ἵνα ... μέμνησαι). In wishes (object not fulfilled) the indicative is traditional, although not in combination with ἵνα as at 2672f. (ἵνα ἐβλέπετε) and 3569f. (μηδέ ... ἵνα ... συμβέβηκε) or with ἄς as at 1266 (ἄς ἐβλεπες), 1896 (ἄς ἠδέσθης), 1897 (ἄς ἠρκέσθης). In conditional clauses (object not achieved), the main clause may have an ἄν, as at 269 and 2318f., but it may also be missing, as at 1081f., or there may be an ἄν in both clauses, as at 1108f. and 1371–3.

The optative, which had disappeared from spoken Greek, remaining only in ossified formulas, appears in VA with a certain frequency, partly in potential clauses like φαίην ἄν (832), εὖ ἄν ἔχοι (2304), and ὅπου δ' ἄν βούλοιντο (4204), partly in wishes, most of which have the character of formulas like δῶν ὁ θεός or δῶν Κύριος (1269; 1656), χαίροις (3929) and μὴ γένοιτο (passim), although φθέγξοιτο (830 in pompous context) is more ambitious (cf. 832 cited above). The frequency of the optative of δεῖ, mostly in combination with γενέσθαι, which seems to have become a formula as well, is remarkable, see 1060 (τί σοι δεοί γενέσθαι), 1119f. (ἐδεήθη ..., τί ἄρα δεοί γενέσθαι), 1387 (σέ δὲ τί δεοί πρὸς ταῦτα;), 2429 (ἐπαπορούσα τὸ τί δεοί γενέσθαι), 2524 (ἐβουλευετο τί δεοί γενέσθαι), and perhaps 2499, where one may hesitate between δεόν and δεοί.

*The infinitive.* Matt. 8:20 οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνει is quoted four times in VA (see Index), and in all instances the subjunctive has been replaced by the infinitive κλίνειν. This use of the infinitive in a dependent interrogative clause appears in VA also in many other passages, most often after a form of ἔχω with a negative and τί or πῶς (400f.; 582–4; 1007; 2497; 3092f.; 3619) but also after μὴ ἰσχύων τί (752) and μὴ δυνάμενος πῶς (2612).<sup>22</sup>

*The participle.* The participle is sometimes used in a way which indicates that its role in the sentence was not well understood, as when it is coordinated with a finite verb (1998 ἀποκριθεὶς ... καὶ φησι) or with another participle with a different function (1962f. τῇ φιλαργυρίᾳ μαινόμενος καὶ βλέπων ἑαυτὸν πληθυνόμενον ἠγάλλετο). The two examples quoted have been taken from the section covered by the majuscule fragment, and their number would probably have been higher, had the whole original been preserved. Participle constructions, which have not been integrated into the

<sup>22</sup> For more examples of this idiom and references to similar expressions in Latin, see G. Björck, “‘I don’t know what to do’ in Greek”, *Eranos*, 47 (1949) 13–19.



main clause, appear in all four cases, see 440 (καθεσθέντες δὲ λέγει μοι), 603 (ἐννεοῦ μου γεγονότος ὤμην), 584–6 (χωροῦντί μοι ... ἰδοὺ πάλιν ... πνεῦμα ἔπνευσεν), 2090 (Αἰθίοπα μέλαν, ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ καπνὸν ἐκπορευόμενον). On the other hand the participle also appears in attributive position, which must be regarded as an example of refinement in this context, see 2094f. (τοὺς δὲ ἐξελθόντας λόγους ἐκ τοῦ στόματος), 2896f. (τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μοι λεγομένοις θείοις ῥήμασι), 2926 τῶν βασταζομένων βρεφῶν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ).<sup>23</sup>

The perf. part. pass. often takes the place of an adjective, as in the case of ἐσκοτισμένος (782, 1974 etc.), ξεξοφωμένος (2022), ἡσβολωμένος (67, 77 etc.), μεμελανωμένος (1365, 1479 etc.), βεβορβορωμένος (1982, 2727) πεπαλαιωμένος (335), πεπολιωμένος (875), γεγυμνωμένος (1028, 1039, 1879), and the frequent παρατετραμμένος. In two passages the meaning of the passive participle is active rather than passive, namely 2160f. (κατεσταλμένος ... ὑπὸ τῶν ... κινημάτων τῆς ἁμαρτίας) and 2164f. (τὴν βεβυθισμένην μέθην).

It also happens that the finite verb and the participle change places, as at 50f. (καταβὰς ... κατεῖχεν = κατέβη ... κατέχων) and 2062 (πεινώσι ... τελευτώντες = πεινῶντες ... τελευτῶσι).

### Concord

Lack of agreement with regard to gender is particularly common. Examples:

- τί λύσιν ἔχει (3433), τί ἐρμηνείαν ἔχει (3279, 3406), but also τίνα λύσιν ἔχει (3086) and ποταπὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἔχει (3271); τί can also refer to a neut. pl., as at 2339 (τί εἰσι γεγραμμένα) and 2343f. (τί δέ εἰσι ταῦτα τὰ κόπρια;)
- πάντων ... δυνάμεων (3071) and τῶν ἁμαρτησάντων ψυχῶν (2846), but also πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν (1972f.; note that whereas A has πασῶν, BK have πάντων)
- τόπω, δι' ἧς (2029, see note 20 ad loc.)
- φλὸξ ... οὐχ ὡς τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο ... ὁρώμενον (669f.)
- αἱ τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων στρατηγίαι ... ἐν καθ' ἑν (2984)
- εἶδος ἀστραπῆς ἐξελθούσης ... καὶ ... περικυκλώσαν (3668f.); cf. λεκάνης εἶδος, ἥτις (4235), but εἶδος ἀστραπῆς ἐρχόμενον (4242). This is a special case, as two nouns of different gender are involved.

<sup>23</sup> For this position in other texts, see BDR, § 474,7.

*Sentence structure*

*Parataxis.* This is naturally most common in direct speech, see 2311 (κελεύεις ἀναγγελῶ ...); 3515 (τί θέλεις ποιήσω;); 2499 (ἐπιτρέψω καὶ παραλήψεται αὐτὸν θάνατος), 3532f. (οὐ φοβῆ σὺ τὸν θεόν, κἂν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνηται), and 1266, 1895f. (ἔστω οὐκ ..., κἂν ...), where the parataxis before κἂν has been transferred to after ἔστω, but also occurs elsewhere, as at 424f. (διὰ τὸ εἶναι μεγίστους ἀνέμους καὶ διαστρέφειν) and in clauses with a biblical flavour like καὶ ἰδοὺ σαγήνη ὡς ἀστραπὴ καὶ διεσκόρπισεν ἅπαντας (2574f.).

*Contamination.* Instead of the grammatically correct ὡς εἰκάζω, ... ὁ θεὸς ἀνταπέδωκεν ἡμῖν (265f.) we also find the pattern ὡς εἰκάζω ὅτι (1010), ὡς νομίζω ὅτι (734), ὡς εἴρηται ... ὅτι (858 and 3464f.<sup>24</sup>), and ὡς ὁρῶ ὅτι (364). A similar conflation of two constructions results in the use of the infinitive instead of a participle after ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν and the like at 1791f. and 1920f. At 1360f. ἕως οὗ has been substituted for ὥστε (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἔτυψεν ἕως οὗ ...). Συμμειδιᾷ μετὰ (329) is a mixture of μειδιᾷ μετὰ and συμμειδιᾷ with the dative.

*Change of construction.* Prepositions often vary with cases and vice versa in the same phrase, as in ἀπὸ τε τῆς θέας αὐτοῦ ... καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς συνέσει (21f.) and παρακλήσει δὲ φίλων καὶ δι'εὐχῆς τοῦ ἁγίου (259f.). Ἡὐφραίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ συνέσει καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν αὐτοῦ (1022f.) is a quotation from Luke 2:47, although Luke omits the ἐν; note that the same reference appears at 810f. without the addition of ἐν. A change of construction typical of direct speech may be found in the section preserved in the original, namely ἐγὼ σοι δείξω μηκέτι κλέπτειν, ἔπειτα ἵνα γινώσκῃς ... καὶ ὅτι ... (1900f.).

*Change of subject.* Sentences become particularly garbled when a change of subject fails to influence the grammar, as in ... κρατῶν τὸν μακάριον Ἀνδρέαν ὁ Ἐπιφάνιος, ζητοῦντες (i.e. A. and E.) εὐκαιρον τόπον ..., οἱ συναντῶντες τὸν Ἐπιφάνιον ... ἔλεγον αὐτῷ (858–60) and ἐλαττωθέντος οὖν τοῦ σκεύους, διυπνισθεὶς ὁ πιπράσκων, θεασάμενοι αὐτὸν οἱ γελοιασταὶ ἀνεχώρησαν (1357–9).

Like the many liberties taken in other matters of grammar the contaminations and the changes of construction and subject testify to the instability of the language used in VA.

<sup>24</sup> In the latter instance ὡς οὖν εἴρηται stands for ὡς οὖν, ὡς εἴρηται.



## Parentheses

VA contains at least 20 parentheses or, rather, passages which a modern editor or translator would be likely to put between brackets or dashes, namely at 10; 548f.; 582–4; 1565; 1583; 1812; 1889; 2997f.; 3002–5; 3022–5; 3135; 3457f.; 3561–3; 3609; 3726f.; 3937; 4066; 4069–72; 4077; 4149. Most of them are marked out with a γάρ after the first word, but there are also parenthetical remarks lacking any sign. These may be difficult to detect, especially if they are long, as at 3561–3. To judge from 1889, the original did not distinguish a parenthetical remark or exclamation from what precedes and follows with a particular sign; a colon was enough.

## Figures of speech

### *Ellipsis and pleonasm*

Ellipses are not so common in VA as one would perhaps expect. I have noted καὶ εἴ τι κελεύει ὁ θεός ‘and God’s will be done!’ (2536),<sup>25</sup> οἷους αὐτοὺς χρῆσόμεθα ‘(they develop) according to how we treat them’ (2913), ἡ σταύρωσις τοῦ κυρίου ... μεθ’ ὑμῶν ‘may the crucifixion of our Lord ... be with you!’ (704f.), and ἐνταῦθα μὴδὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶδὼς πρὸς με διασκεΐμενοι ‘I would not even wish my enemies here!’ (2343).

Pleonasm, on the other hand, are common. That words for ‘fool’ and ‘fear’ often appear in pairs has already been mentioned. But there are many other examples, see, e.g., 1086f. (οἶδα καὶ οὐκ ἄγνοῶ), 1134 (παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι), 2419 (παρακαλῶ καὶ ἱκετεύω), 2047 (ἐγένου καὶ ἐχρημάτισας), 2453 (ἀγαπᾶν καὶ φιλεῖν), 4244 (ἐνίκᾳ καὶ περιεγένετο), 2099f. (εὐθέως καὶ παραχρῆμα), 1345 (εὐθέως σὺν τῷ λόγῳ), 3624 (ὄντως καὶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ), 1161 (ποιῶ τρόπῳ καὶ πῶς).<sup>26</sup> In addition to the frequent biblical combination φόβος καὶ τρόμος we also find ἀτρέμα καὶ ἀφόβως (4203), which is not in the Bible.

<sup>25</sup> For a similar ellipsis in TheophConf, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 470,15f. see Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 22f.; further examples in *VNiph*, ed. Rystenko, 9,5 καὶ ὅτι θελήσει ὁ θεός and 12,2 καὶ εἴτι θελήσει ὁ θεός. Cf. also *Three Treatises*, ed. Haldon, line 435 καὶ εἴ τι κελεύει ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, which means ‘and it is done to him according to his majesty’s command’ rather than ‘and asked what his majesty commands’, as rendered by the editor.

<sup>26</sup> On εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρῆμα (as against the classical εὐθὺς παραχρῆμα) and ποιῶ τρόπῳ καὶ πῶς, see Tabachovitz, *Études*, 35–7.

*Word order*

Sometimes words which belong together have been separated, as in the following:

- τὴν σφοδροτάτην ἀνάγκην ... πάνυ ἠπόρουν μὴ ὑποφέρειν (466f.)
- ἔψινεν ὄσπριον ..., μὴ ἐὼν τινα τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ ἄψασθαι, ἐν τῇ ἀρούρῃ (932f.)
- εἰς ἐνὸς τόπον τῶν ἀγαπώντων σε (982)
- οἷαν τις ἀριθμῆσαι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς οὐ δύναται (987f.)
- ποτὲ μὲν ὡς χειλιδὼν ἐμελέτα συρίζουσα, ποτε δὲ ὡς ἀηδὼν φθεγγομένη (1702f.)
- εὐχὴν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ μετὰ δακρύων ταμιεῖω ... προσέφερεν (2807f.)
- τὸν δὲ σατανᾶν δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις κατακαίῳν τῇ ἀστραπῇ ὑποβάλλει (3223f.)
- ἀπειλῶν καὶ μαινόμενος ἐκριζοῦν καὶ τὰ θεμέλια (3777f.)
- οἱ τε φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ οἱ ὁμήλικες μετὰ τῶν γονέων (4225).

It is not always easy to decide whether the words in question have been separated in order to achieve stylistic effect or whether the separation is due to carelessness on the part of the author or a copyist. In the first five and the last three cases the separation is likely to derive from the author, but at 2807f. it might as well result from an error on the part of a scribe.

Note also that from the point of view of context the two sentences Πάντες δὲ οἱ πένητες and Πίθοι διερρήγυντο come in reverse order (426–9).

*Hypallage. Inverted phrases. Wrong attribution*

As may have become evident in the previous remarks, various forms of reverse order and other kinds of imprecision constitute an important element in the style of VA. I intend to discuss this phenomenon in a separate paper.<sup>27</sup> In the meantime, here are a few particularly characteristic examples:

- καθάπερ γὰρ λάχανον, οὕτως ὑπάρχει σαθρὸς καὶ ἀνίσχυρος (73) = καθάπερ γὰρ σαθρὸν λάχανον, οὕτως ὑπάρχει ἀνίσχυρος, cf. app. crit.
- (φυτὰ) ἃ τοῖς μάκαρσι κέχρηται (526) = οἷς οἱ μάκαρες κέχρηται

<sup>27</sup> To be published in *Festschrift Hunger, JÖB*, 44 (1994). [After this was written, the paper appeared under the title "Vertauschung und Widersinn. Stilistische Eigenheiten in der Vita des Andreas Salos" in *ANΔPIAΣ. Herbert Hunger zum 80. Geburtstag = JÖB*, 44 (1994), 339–47.]



- ὅπιθεν καθαροποτίου τινὸς ... ἐνώπιον τῶν διερχομένων (1241f.): ἔμπροσθεν would have suited the context better than ὅπιθεν
- ῥάβδῳ τὴν κάραν αὐτοῦ συνέτριβον (746), meaning “they broke their sticks on his head” rather than “broke his head with a stick”, cf. *VPetrAtr*, ed. Laurent, 127,22–4 λαβὼν ... τὴν ῥάβδον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτὸν ἔτυπεν ἀφειδῶς ... καὶ, κλασθείσης ἐν τῷ τύπτειν αὐτὸν τῆς ῥάβδου ...; also *VStephlun*, 1140 A τὰς ... σαθρώδεις τῶν ῥάβδων ἀποσχίζοντες, πρὸς τὸ ψόφους ἀποτελεῖν, κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦτον ἔκρουον, ἐγερσιγέλωτα ὥσπερ ἔχοντες.
- καταπιὼν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ σώματι (1585). According to the context the meaning is ‘the body with his soul’.
- καύσαι με δεινῶς καὶ οὐχ ὑποφέρω τὰ ἄλγη (2546f.); one would rather expect καύσαι με καὶ οὐχ ὑποφέρω τὰ ἄλγη τὰ δεινά
- τὴν ἀλμυρὰν μανίαν τῆς φιάλεώς μου (2551f.); cf. Rev. 16:1
- τὴν ἄπιστον καὶ περίεργον γνώμην τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κακίας (3195f.), meaning ‘the wickedness of the unbelieving and inquisitive human mind’
- εἰ ἅπαξ τι ἐλάλησα, τὴν ῥάβδον ἐκ τοῦ ἀτυχεστάτου σώματός μου οὐδ’ ὅλως κατέφερον (3510–12); cf., e.g., *VEuthymPatrCP*, ed. Karlin-Hayter, 67,10f. κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κεφαλὴν τὴν ῥάβδον ... ῥαγδαίως κατέφερον
- τῇ καθαρᾷ ψυχῇ καὶ καρδίᾳ τῆς ὑμῶν διαθέσεως (3710), meaning ‘the pure disposition of your soul and heart’
- σάρκας ἀνθρώπων ζώσας ἐσθίοντες (4056), meaning ‘the flesh of living men’ rather than ‘the living flesh of men’
- τὸ μέλι τῆς ἀστραπῆς ... γλυκύτερον (4291f.) = ἡ ἀστραπὴ ... γλυκύτερα μέλιτος

### *Metaphoric language*

VA contains a great number of metaphors, especially in passages where Andrew or the devil speaks: Examples: πλέξω ἀμφίβληστρον ... ἀρτύσω χύτραν (881f.), κλεισθήσονται αἱ θυρίδες τοῦ οἴκου σου (1875f.), νοητὸς λωρόπους ... οἱ γὰρ ἄξονες τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ τὰ νοητὰ βήματα τῆς καρδίας σου (1926f.), ἄχυρα καὶ κονιορτός (1937), σκιὰ καὶ καπνός (1949f.), τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ προπύλαια (2071f.), ἀλλοτρίων ἀκανθῶν οἰκονόμος (2112), σύντριψον τὸν βραχίονα τοῦ χαλεποῦ σου φρονήματος (2172), ἡ γάγγραινα (2201; 3987), βλέπε τὴν ἀλώπεκα etc. (2211–13), ἐσάλευσεν τὴν καρδίαν (2218), εἶδες τὸν δραγάτην πῶς φυλάττει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα etc. (2587f.), οἶκος καὶ οἶκος καὶ θεοῦ ἀνάπανσις (2665), αἱ

μέλισσαι ἐν τοῖς βοραδίοις ... οἱ μύρμηκες (2690f.), ἀφηνιάσας (2693), τῷ μύλωνι ἀλήθωμεν ..., ἄγωμεν, ταπεινὸν παραπεφυρμένον ὄναριον (2701–3), δῆσαι τὸν ὄνον ... ὁ ἐμὸς ὄνος (2709–11), ἐὰν μὴ ἐψηθῶμεν διὰ τῶν πειρασμῶν, θεῷ ἡδύτατος ἄρτος γενέσθαι οὐ δυνάμεθα (2778f.). In part this metaphoric language belongs to the role of the fool, who by definition expresses himself enigmatically, cf., e.g., *VSymSal*, ed. Rydén 166,10–12 (Symeon) ἔσασσεν κρᾶζων ‘νίκας τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ πόλει’, referring to the intellect and the soul, respectively.

### *Word play. Etymology*

The delight in word play was ubiquitous, and Nikephoros was no exception, as the following examples show. It should be noted, however, that at least one of them (3932f.) is not of Nikephoros’ own making.

- σάγισμα / σαγίον (338f.)
- κωλοφωνίας / Κολοφωνίας (1053–5)
- Θεσσαλονίκη σὺ νικήσεις (3925)
- Δήλου / Ἀδήλου (3932f.)
- Σύλαιον / συληθήση (3941f.)

In addition there are fanciful etymologies:

- αἰών / ὦν ἀεὶ (2976f.), which is commonplace
- ἄρτος / ἄριστος (4281), for which I have found no parallel. Perhaps Nikephoros got the idea of this etymology from the *nomina sacra*.

### *Emotional language*

Emotions play a prominent part in VA, as the frequent mention of tears (4137f. offers a good example), Andrew’s self-pitying (278–80, 2703) and the repeated quotation of Matt. 8:20 indicate. From the point of view of style, this sentimentality is reflected in the abundant use of asyndeton, as at 896f. (enumeration of Epiphanius’ good qualities), 1092f., 1361, 1456–8 (participles), 1448 (words of abuse), 2858f. (ἦλθεν ..., ἦλθεν ..., ἦλθεν), and in many other stylistic details, as when those who resist the Antichrist are called οἱ φωστήρες οἱ ὥραῖοι, οἱ φίλτατοι μαργαρίται, αἱ καρδίαι αἱ γλυκεῖαι καὶ τερπναὶ καὶ μελίρρυτοι (4088f.), when a friend of Epiphanius’ addresses him with the words φίλτατέ μου καὶ πεποθημένε Ἐπιφάνιε (1040f.), when Epiphanius begins his answer with γλυκύτατε



ἀδελφέ (1044), or when the same Epiphanius is called τὸ ἐμὸν φῶς, ἡ ἐμὴ χαρά, ἡ ἐμὴ εὐπρέπεια καὶ ἡδύτης καὶ ἀγαλλίασις by Andrew (1634f.), and μύρον τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου by his father (1017f.). To these sugared expressions of affection there is a corresponding arsenal of words of abuse, among which the terms for fool (σαλέ, ἔξηχε, πάρετε, μάταιε etc.) dominate, although there also appear more colourful expressions, such as ὁ τὰ σέλη ἐσθίων, κοσμοεμπαίκτη and ἐκκλησιοεμπαίκτη.

The frequent use of oaths enhances the emotive impression. The most common types are variants of μὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν (1326, 1425, 1496, 1879, 2087, 3070), which most often underline a warning or a threat, and variants of τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ without μά, introducing a question or an urgent request (456, 1529f., 1948).<sup>28</sup> Sometimes the ὀρκῶ understood in the latter category is expressed, as at 462 (ὀρκῶ δέ σε τὸν θεόν). Other forms are: οὕτως ἔχεις τὸν Χριστόν introducing a request (58), μὰ τὸν ἀσάλευτον θρόνον καὶ τὴν τούτου εὐπρέπειαν (1428, the devil swears by God's throne), μὰ τὸν δεσπότην Χριστόν expressing delight (1615) and μὰ τὸν νυμφίον μου Χριστόν in a warning uttered by a personification of the Church (2885f.). At 1011f. the wish μὴ θεάσῃ τοῦ ... Ἐπιφανίου τὸν θάνατον is close to an oath. There are also curses: καταργηθῇ ὁ σατανᾶς (261), δῶή κύριος ... (1656), κατάρθεμά σε (1912).

In addition there is a wide range of exclamations, of amazement as well as of grief and annoyance. The former are most often introduced by βαβαί, followed by gen. (1118, 1330–2, 2387f., 3604) or a full sentence (1682f., 4263f.), but also by ὦ (1310) or ὡς (546, 1889). The exclamations of grief are expressed by ἀβάλα with dat. (2385), αἶ with nom. (3536, a blasphemous outburst), βαβαί with nom. (1937), οἶμοι with ὅτι, (2049f., 2794), dat. (2489, 2520f.) or a full sentence (978f., 2351f.), οὐαί with acc. (147) and dat. (2309, 2735, 2763), φεῦ with gen. (1441), and ὦ with nom. (1779f., 2695) and gen. (2026f., 2696f.).

Finally there are numerous utterances charged with sarcasm, irony and (in the case of 3536f. and 3983f.) blasphemy, often introduced by a 'see!', which may be exemplified with the following passages:

- ἴδε ὁ τὰ σέλη ἐσθίων, καὶ αὐτὸς καθ' ἡμῶν ὀπλίζεται (41f.)
- ὑπάγετε δείξατε τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν ... (157)
- δῶρον κωλοφονίας οἱ σαλοὶ οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν (1053)
- θεάσασθε ... πῶς ... καθάπερ κύων τοὺς πόδας τοῦ τύψαντος αὐτὸν κατασπάσσεται (1251–3)

<sup>28</sup> On the difference between μά + acc. and the acc. alone, see Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 43f.

- τὸν κύνα μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνάπαυσον (1517f.), a parody
- βλέψον εἰς τὸν ἀχάριστον, πῶς ἂ μὴ εἰδῶς φθέγγεται ἀρνούμενος (1720f.)
- σοι λέγω, τοῖχε, βοήθησόν μοι (3537)
- the demons speak of Andrew as ὁ ἀκαμάτης οὗτος 'this idler', evidently referring to the fact that he has deserted his master Theognostos, whose clerk he was (3572f.)
- ἰδοὺ τί σοι ἔκαμον, ἀδύνατε ... (3983f.)

All this is of course connected with the fact that large parts of VA consist of direct speech.

In conclusion it may be said that the language of VA can be described in both negative and positive terms. Choosing the former alternative one may say that it is unstable, careless and macaronic, but choosing the latter, one may rather say that it is lively and varied and not without flashes of creativity.



## Conclusion

Andrew the Fool never existed in real life. He is a literary figure, created by an author who realized the potential of the holy fool as a vehicle for conveying edification in unrestrained, graphic form. This author, whom we may believe when he says that his name is Nikephoros, not only dated his hero in the reign of the Emperor Leo I (457–74), but also posed as his contemporary, although anachronisms reveal that he lived much later. To support this fiction he had the future patriarch Epiphanius (520–35) play a prominent part in the *Vita* and, moreover, wrote his manuscript in majuscule letters—at least this is the simplest explanation why there exists a majuscule fragment possessing all the characteristics of an original. The *terminus post quem* of this fragment is c. 950. To a certain extent, therefore, *VA* may be regarded as a historical novel, in which, by definition, the plot takes place in a historical milieu and purely fictitious characters mingle with more or less historical ones.

Nikephoros' style is on the level of lower literary Koine, although it is not uniform but varies with the context. His morphology and, still more, his syntax lack stability. We are far from the "faceless correctness" so often found in other hagiographers.<sup>1</sup> The composition may be described as a loose combination of lengthy conversations and well-told episodes of various kinds, not always focusing on Andrew. The range of topics is encyclopedic, to which the author's approach is folkloric. He is not afraid of repetitions and contradictions. His attitude toward other people is partly moralistic, partly sentimental. All the episodes, many of which are visions, are highly visual.

The manuscript tradition, ranging from the 10th to the 19th century, is rich. There are many excerpts and many free versions, but also a few manuscripts which follow their models closely. The original was written in c. 950, at the earliest. The fact that a piece of it has been preserved is crucial to the possibility of establishing a reasonably reliable critical text.

---

<sup>1</sup> The felicitous expression "faceless correctness" derives from Ševčenko, "Levels of Style", 306.

# Principles of Edition and Translation

## *The text*

Since I believe that one quire of the original MS, here called A, has been preserved, I have based my edition on this source as far as possible. This means that the section 1880–2100 follows A closely, except that I have normalized the spelling, the use of the movable *nu*, the accents and the punctuation. The most important deviations from A have been noted in the apparatus, see lines 1891; 1923; 1951f.; 1967; 1977; 1979; 2024; 2035; 2045. A more complete picture of A's writing habits may be gained from the reproduction of fol. IV<sup>v</sup> on p. 73 as well as from the copies of fols. VIII and XI<sup>v</sup> above.

Before 1880 and after 2100 my text is based on version  $\beta$ , which is more reminiscent of A than the other versions. With regard to spelling and grammar  $\beta$  is more sober than A. For instance, A contains quite a number of superfluous  $\tau\epsilon$  and  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ , which  $\beta$  usually omits. Obviously such deviations cannot be identified and corrected where A is missing. In the cases where I suspect a more serious error, however, I have tried to establish a likely text with the help of the other MSS. This applies especially to lines 3200–6, 3888–901, 3941f., 4018–23, 4373f.

As to accents I have decided not to apply the rules suggested by J. Noret in a recent article,<sup>1</sup> for various reasons. In the first place neither A nor the other MSS give full support to Noret's rules.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, by changing some accents but keeping others which are not affected by Noret's rules, e.g.  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  εἰσι 2063 and  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  φησι 2143, the editor is likely to create confusion rather than clarity. Apparently, the whole question of medieval scribal practice must be examined carefully and a *complete* new accent system be worked out before we can abandon the traditional accentuation in this kind of texts.

As appears from what I said in a previous chapter, only fragments of the

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Noret, "Quand donc rendrons-nous à quantité d'indéfinis prétendument enclitiques, l'accent qui leur revient?" *Byzantion*, 57 (1987), 191–5.

<sup>2</sup> Noret's rule no. 2 (an indefinite pronoun or adverb is provided with an accent when it appears in a sentence containing a negation) gets the best support.



original chapter system have been preserved in the MSS. Since I have not been able to reconstruct this system I reproduce only those headings which are particularly well founded in the MSS, and chapter numbers only as far as they are likely to be genuine (i.e. most of 1–22, 29–36), placing them on the first line of the paragraph in question rather than above it (except in the case of A).

### *The apparatus criticus*

Naturally I indicate when there are changes in the MS basis, i.e. when folios are missing, when a MS substitutes one model for another, and the like.

When a lemma appears without a sign it is implied that it derives from  $\beta$ , except in the A section, where the lemmata refer to A. On the other hand, when the text chosen deviates from  $\beta$  this is always indicated, as is the origin of the text chosen.

As to the A section 1880–2100 it should be borne in mind that while  $\beta$  is accounted for in full, as usual, the deviations of the other MSS are reproduced to a much lesser extent than elsewhere. This may give the false impression that in this section  $\beta$  differs from A more than the other MSS. I have taken this risk, however, since I think that on the one hand the most important complete version should be fully documented, while on the other hand the details of the less careful copies are of limited interest when we know exactly how the original reads.

Unlike  $\beta$ , whose variant readings are always reproduced, the other MSS are accounted for selectively, except when they agree against  $\beta$ . By necessity the selection is subjective. In principle I include readings which have a chance of being original, readings which shed light upon the context although they cannot be original, readings which are typical of a particular version and readings which may be of interest for other reasons, e.g. from the point of view of lexicography. In order not to make the apparatus criticus unnecessarily difficult to read I have sometimes normalized the spelling of the variants by substituting  $\epsilon$  for  $\alpha$  and the like. Because of the importance and complexity of the apocalypse I have given a particularly comprehensive account of the variant readings to this part of the text (3805–4131). Extensive additions, however, as well as some individual versions of the end of the Vita are presented in appendices. One might have considered reproducing individual versions also of the beginning and other characteristic parts of VA in appendices. I have not taken the trouble of doing this, however, since it would have required too much space without ex-

hausting the subject. The editor must refer those who want complete information concerning the text of a certain MS or group of MSS other than A and  $\beta$  to the MSS themselves.

### *The translation*

On the whole, Nikephoros' Greek is simple and easy to follow, although the exact meaning of a word here and a passage there may be difficult to determine. From the point of view of interpretation, therefore, it does not confront a translator with too many serious problems. Nevertheless, as appears from the chapter on language and style, it contains stylistic features in the form of allusive vocabulary, puns, contaminations, various kinds of inverted order etc., which are hard to render in readable English. I have not had the ambition, therefore, to imitate Nikephoros' style, especially as I am translating from one foreign language to another, but limited myself to trying to render the meaning.

When Nikephoros quotes the Old Testament he naturally refers to the Septuagint, which often differs from the Hebrew version on which the Revised Standard Version is based. In such cases I have either made my own translation or followed that of L.C.L. Brenton, which is based on the Septuagint.<sup>3</sup>

In order to make the translation less compact I have provided it with headings of my own making, thus dividing the text into short pieces, by and large in accordance with the Summary above. The number of these headings is about 70, i.e. probably a few more than in the original.<sup>4</sup>

### *The apparatus fontium and other notes*

Since the distinction between quotations, allusions and more or less unconscious reminiscences is vague, I have merged the apparatus fontium into the notes to the translation. Considering these notes as sufficient I have usually refrained from using quotation marks to indicate quotations in the text and translation. Since borrowing from the vocabulary and phraseology of the Scriptures is a trivial element in hagiographical compositions, I have

<sup>3</sup> L.C.L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (London, 1851; I have used an American reprint).

<sup>4</sup> The titles appearing in P. Cesaretti's Italian translation (see below under "Testimonies and *Nachleben*") derive from these chapter headings.



not bothered to indicate *every* biblical reminiscence. References to the Psalms follow the numbering of the Septuagint according to the edition of Rahlfs.<sup>5</sup>

Other notes than references serve the purpose of explaining the context as far as I have been able to understand it. My remarks should be considered a beginning. The editor must leave to others to broaden and refine the interpretation of this rich, complex and enigmatic document.

### *Vocabulary and names*

Words and names have been indexed together. The list of names is complete, whereas the vocabulary represents a selection which is subjective, although I have tried to satisfy the wishes of different groups of readers, in the first place philologists, political historians and historians of religion, folklore and daily life. Numbers referring to the apparatus criticus and the designations of the Appendices have been italicized.

---

<sup>5</sup> A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, II, *libri poetici et prophetici* (Stuttgart, 1935), 1–164.





## Testimonies and *Nachleben*



# Manuscripts

Since a fragment of the original *VA* appears to have been preserved and one of the branches of the tradition is closely related to this fragment, with some exceptions, the reconstruction of the original form of the *Vita* was relatively easy. It was not necessary to examine the whole body of more than 100 MSS containing *VA*, or parts of it, in order to establish a critical text. Yet, although the overwhelming majority of the MSS were of no use for the *recensio*, they deserve our attention for the light they throw on the history of the text. They indicate how much interest *VA* met with in monastic circles, which parts of it were more appreciated than others and with which other literary works it was associated. In order to bring out this information I here list all copies of *VA* known to me, the majuscule fragment *A* excepted, in approximately chronological order and with an indication of their contents, their linguistic form and the context in which they appear, as far as I know them;<sup>1</sup> in the notes I also indicate, if possible, to which version of *VA* the texts contained in the MSS belong or are related.

MS	Extent <sup>2</sup>	Byz./Mod. Greek	Single/with other texts (OT)
<i>11th century</i>			
1. Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 523 <sup>3</sup>	whole Life <sup>4</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>5</sup>
2. Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 1014 <sup>6</sup> (=P)	whole Life, partly condensed <sup>7</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>8</sup>
<i>11th–12th century</i>			
3. Rome, Vat. gr. 1574 <sup>9</sup> (=D)	whole Life, partly expanded <sup>10</sup>	Byz.	single
4. Budapest, fr. Moravczik 7 <sup>11</sup>	? <sup>12</sup>	Byz.	?
<i>12th century</i>			
5. Rome, Vat. gr. 2010 <sup>13</sup> (=C)	whole Life, expanded version <sup>14</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>15</sup>
<i>13th century</i>			
6. Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. 692 <sup>16</sup>	whole Life <sup>17</sup>	Byz.	single (?)
7. Paris, Par. gr. 1547 (a. 1286) <sup>18</sup> (=F)	whole Life, slightly abridged <sup>19</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>20</sup>



MS	Extent	Byz./Mod. Greek	Single/with other texts (OT)
8. Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 2419 (a. 1293) <sup>21</sup> (=K)	whole Life, expanded version <sup>22</sup>	Byz.	single
9. Jerusalem, Sabait. 264 <sup>23</sup>	whole Life, <sup>24</sup> partly expanded	Byz.	OT <sup>25</sup>
10. Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 229 <sup>26</sup> (=R)	excerpt <sup>27</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>28</sup>
<i>14th century</i>			
11. Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 1000 (a. 1313–14) <sup>29</sup>	whole Life <sup>30</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>31</sup>
12. Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 123 <sup>32</sup> (=B)	whole Life	Byz.	single <sup>33</sup>
13. Athos, Μονὴ Παντοκράτορος 286 <sup>34</sup>	whole Life <sup>35</sup>	Byz.	single
14. Munich, Monac. gr. 552 <sup>36</sup> (=E)	whole Life, expanded version <sup>37</sup>	Byz.	single
15. Athos, Μονὴ Διονυσίου 187 (a. 1357–8) <sup>38</sup>	whole Life, expanded version with omissions <sup>39</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>40</sup>
16. Jerusalem, Sabait. 415 <sup>41</sup> (=S)	excerpts and addition <sup>42</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>43</sup>
17. Nuremberg, Stadtbibl. Cent. V, App. 46 <sup>44</sup>	excerpts <sup>45</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>46</sup>
18. Paris, Par. gr. 1554A <sup>47</sup>	excerpts <sup>48</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>49</sup>
<i>14th–15th century</i>			
19. Oxford, Bodl. Holkham. gr. 26 <sup>50</sup>	whole Life <sup>51</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>52</sup>
<i>15th century</i>			
20. Sinai, Sinait. gr. 1829 <sup>53</sup>	first half <sup>54</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>55</sup>
21. Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 523 <sup>56</sup>	whole Life (?) <sup>57</sup>	Byz.	?
22. Athos, Σκήτη Καυσοκαλυβίων 209 <sup>58</sup>	whole Life <sup>59</sup>	Byz.	single
23. Lesbos, Γυμν. Μυτιλήνης 37 <sup>60</sup> (=M)	whole Life	Byz.	OT <sup>61</sup>
24. Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. 570 (a. 1436) <sup>62</sup>	excerpts <sup>63</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>64</sup>
25. Athens, 'Εθνικὴ Βιβλ. 355 <sup>65</sup>	excerpt <sup>66</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>67</sup>
26. Paris, Par. gr. 1771 <sup>68</sup>	excerpt of ex- panded version <sup>69</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>70</sup>
27. Paris, Par. gr. 2494 <sup>71</sup>	excerpt of ex- panded version <sup>72</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>73</sup>
28. Rome, Bibl. Angelica 127 <sup>74</sup>	excerpt of ex- panded version <sup>75</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>76</sup>
<i>15th or 16th century</i>			
29. Oxford Bodl. Laud. 27 <sup>77</sup>	excerpt of ex- panded version <sup>78</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>79</sup>

16th century

- |  |  |               |                   |
|--|--|---------------|-------------------|
| 30. Lesbos, Μονὴ Λειμῶνος 89 <sup>80</sup>                         | whole Life <sup>81</sup>   | Byz.          | OT <sup>82</sup>  |
| 31. Leningrad, Gos. Publ. Bibl. 591 <sup>83</sup>                  | whole Life <sup>84</sup>   | Byz.          | OT <sup>85</sup>  |
| 32. Lesbos, Μονὴ Λειμῶνος 119<br>(a. 1591) <sup>86</sup>           | abridged Life (?) <sup>87</sup>                                  | Byz.          | single            |
| 33. Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων 603<br>(a. 1594) <sup>88</sup>              | whole Life<br>expanded<br>version (?) <sup>89</sup>              | Byz.          | single            |
| 34. Leningrad, Bibl. Akademii Nauk<br>SSSR, RAIK 126 <sup>90</sup> | whole Life slightly<br>abridged with<br>akolouthia <sup>91</sup> | Byz.          | single            |
| 35. Oxford, Bodl. Lincoln. gr. 1 <sup>92</sup>                     | excerpt <sup>93</sup>  | Byz.          | OT <sup>94</sup>  |
| 36. Oxford, Bodl. Lincoln. gr. 21<br>(a. 1586) <sup>95</sup> (=Y)  | whole Life <sup>96</sup>   | Byz.          | OT <sup>97</sup>  |
| 37. Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 85 <sup>98</sup>                        | whole Life, partly<br>expanded <sup>99</sup>                     | Byz.          | OT <sup>100</sup> |
| 38. Thessalonica, Μονὴ Βλατάδων 44<br>(a. 1562) <sup>101</sup>     | whole Life, ex-<br>panded version <sup>102</sup>                 | Byz.          | single            |
| 39. Athens, Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλ. 432 <sup>103</sup>                        | excerpt <sup>104</sup>   | Byz.          | OT <sup>105</sup> |
| 40. Athos, Μονὴ Γρηγορίου 31 <sup>106</sup>                        | excerpts <sup>107</sup>  | Byz.          | OT <sup>108</sup> |
| 41. London, Brit. Libr. add. 25.881 <sup>109</sup>                 | excerpt <sup>110</sup>   | Byz.          | OT <sup>111</sup> |
| 42. Venice, Marc. gr. VII, 39<br>(a. 1587–8) <sup>112</sup>        | excerpt <sup>113</sup>   | Byz.          | OT <sup>114</sup> |
| 43. Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 110 <sup>115</sup>                       | excerpt <sup>116</sup>   | Byz.          | OT <sup>117</sup> |
| 44. Paris, Par. gr. 1631 <sup>118</sup>                            | excerpt <sup>119</sup>   | Byz.          | OT <sup>120</sup> |
| 45. Athens, Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλ. 831 <sup>121</sup>                        | excerpt of ex-<br>panded version <sup>122</sup>                  | Byz.          | OT <sup>123</sup> |
| 46. Venice, Marc. Ital. XI, 6<br>(a. 1578) <sup>124</sup>          | excerpt of ex-<br>panded version <sup>125</sup>                  | Byz.          | OT <sup>126</sup> |
| 47. Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας<br>Θ 17 <sup>127</sup>             | whole Life <sup>128</sup>  | Mod.<br>Greek | single            |

16th–17th century

- |   |   |      |                   |
|---|---|------|-------------------|
| 48. Rome, Ottob. gr. 418 <sup>129</sup>                           | excerpt of abrid-<br>ged version <sup>130</sup> | Byz. | OT <sup>131</sup> |
| 49. Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl.<br>A 187 (c. 1600) <sup>132</sup> | excerpt <sup>133</sup>                          | Byz. | OT <sup>134</sup> |

17th century

- |  |            |      |                   |
|--|------------|------|-------------------|
| 50. Istanbul, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Παναγίας<br>130 <sup>135</sup> (=L) | whole Life | Byz. | OT <sup>136</sup> |
| 51. Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων 730 <sup>137</sup>                      | whole Life | Byz. | single            |
| 52. Athos, Μονὴ Κωνσταντίνου 15<br>(a. 1604) <sup>138</sup>    | whole Life | Byz. | single            |
| 53. Athos, Μονὴ Κουτλουμουσίου 175<br>(a. 1670) <sup>139</sup> | whole Life | Byz. | OT <sup>140</sup> |

MS	Extent	Byz./Mod. Greek	Single/with other texts (OT)
54. Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας I 108 (a. 1670) <sup>141</sup>	whole Life	Byz.	single
55. Athos, Μονὴ Ξενοφώντος 22 <sup>142</sup>	whole Life	Byz.	single
56. Drama, Μονὴ Κοσινίτσης 279 (a. 1627) <sup>143</sup>	whole Life (?)	Byz. (?)	single
57. Sinai, Μονὴ Αἰκατερίνης 543 (a. 1630) <sup>144</sup> (=V)	whole Life, partly expanded	Byz. with some Mod. Greek	single
58. Athos, Μονὴ Δοχειαρίου 130 <sup>145</sup>	whole Life, with <i>akolouthia</i> <sup>146</sup>	Byz.	single
59. Athos, Μονὴ Διονυσίου 230 <sup>147</sup>	whole Life, expanded version, with omissions <sup>148</sup>	Byz.	single (?) <sup>149</sup>
60. Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων 738 (a. 1623) <sup>150</sup>	whole Life (?)	Byz.	OT <sup>151</sup>
61. Venice, Marc. gr. VII, 42 <sup>152</sup>	whole Life	Mod. Greek	single
62. Athos, Μονὴ Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος 801 (a. 1605–13) <sup>153</sup>	excerpt of expanded version <sup>154</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>155</sup>
63. Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων 315 <sup>156</sup>	excerpts <sup>157</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>158</sup>
64. Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας Θ 14 <sup>159</sup>	excerpt <sup>160</sup>	Byz. (?)	OT <sup>161</sup>
65. Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας Α 15 <sup>162</sup>	excerpts <sup>163</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>164</sup>
66. Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας Α 66 <sup>165</sup>	excerpt <sup>166</sup>	Byz. (?)	OT <sup>167</sup>
67. Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας Α 68 <sup>168</sup>	excerpt <sup>169</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>170</sup>
68. Athos, Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας Ω 35 (a. 1628) <sup>171</sup>	excerpt <sup>172</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>173</sup>
69. Athos, Μονὴ Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος 135 <sup>174</sup>	excerpts <sup>175</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>176</sup>
70. Jerusalem, Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου 561 <sup>177</sup>	excerpt <sup>178</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>179</sup>
71. Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ. 160 (a. 1656) <sup>180</sup>	excerpt <sup>181</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>182</sup>
72. Jerusalem, Sabait. 573 <sup>183</sup>	excerpt <sup>184</sup>	Mod. Greek	OT <sup>185</sup>
73. Moscow, Gos. Istor. Muz., Sinod. Bibl. 340 (Vladimir 429) <sup>186</sup>	excerpts of expanded version <sup>187</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>188</sup>
74. Venice, Marc. gr. VII, 3 <sup>189</sup>	excerpt of expanded version <sup>190</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>191</sup>
75. Athos, Σκήτη Ἁγίου Δημητρίου 36 <sup>192</sup>	excerpt of expanded version <sup>193</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>194</sup>
76. Athos, Μονὴ Δοχειαρίου 132 <sup>195</sup>	excerpt of expanded version <sup>196</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>197</sup>



77. Athos, Μονὴ Ζωγράφου 10 (a. 1665) <sup>198</sup>	whole Life	Mod. Greek	single
78. Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων 934 (a. 1693) <sup>199</sup>	whole Life	Mod. Greek	single
79. Athos, Μονὴ Ἀγίου Παντελεή- μονος 572 <sup>200</sup>	whole Life <sup>201</sup>	Mod. Greek	OT <sup>202</sup>
80. Athos, Μονὴ Ἀγίου Παντελεή- μονος 631 (a. 1683) <sup>203</sup>	whole Life	Mod. Greek	OT <sup>204</sup>
81. Leiden, Bibl. d. Rijks-universiteit, Bibl. Publ. gr. 73B (a. 1616) <sup>205</sup>	whole Life with omissions <sup>206</sup>	Mod. Greek	OT <sup>207</sup>
82. Athos, Μονὴ Διονυσίου 259 (a. 1616) <sup>208</sup>	excerpts <sup>209</sup>	Mod. Greek	OT <sup>210</sup>
83. Athos, Μονὴ Ἑσφιγμένου 108 <sup>211</sup>	whole Life (?) <sup>212</sup>	Mod. Greek	OT <sup>213</sup>

*17th–18th century*

84. Zaborda, Μονὴ τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικάνορος 152 <sup>214</sup>	whole Life	Byz. (?)	single
---	------------	----------	--------

*18th century*

85. Andros, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας 50 <sup>215</sup>	whole Life	Byz.	single
86. Athos, Μονὴ Κουτλουμουσίου 655 (a. 1778) <sup>216</sup>	whole Life	Mod. Greek	single
87. Athens, Ἑθνικὴ Βιβλ. 1028 <sup>217</sup>	excerpt <sup>218</sup>	Byz.	single (?) <sup>219</sup>
88. Athens, Ἑθνικὴ Βιβλ. 1256 (a. 1790) <sup>220</sup>	excerpt <sup>221</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>222</sup>
89. Athos, Μονὴ Ἀγίου Παντελεή- μονος 789 (a. 1720 ?) <sup>223</sup>	excerpt <sup>224</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>225</sup>
90. Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 174 <sup>226</sup>	excerpt <sup>227</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>228</sup>
91. Athos, Μονὴ Ἀγίου Παντελεή- μονος 850 <sup>229</sup>	excerpts <sup>230</sup>	Byz. (?)	OT <sup>231</sup>
92. Bucharest, Bibl. Acad. Române 836 (a. 1799) <sup>232</sup>	excerpt <sup>233</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>234</sup>
93. Athos, Μονὴ Κουτλουμουσίου 692 (a. 1790) <sup>235</sup>	condensed (?) Life <sup>236</sup>	Mod. Greek	single <sup>237</sup>

*19th century*

94. Athos, Μονὴ Ἀγίου Παντελεή- μονος 171 <sup>238</sup>	excerpt (?) <sup>239</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>240</sup>
95. Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 767 (a. 1823) <sup>241</sup>	whole Life, partly expanded <sup>242</sup>	Byz.	single
96. Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 96 (a. 1872) <sup>243</sup>	whole Life, partly expanded <sup>244</sup>	Byz.	single
[Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 1015] <sup>245</sup>			
97. Athos, Μονὴ Κουτλουμουσίου 662 <sup>246</sup>	whole Life	Byz. (?)	single
98. Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 211 <sup>247</sup>	excerpts <sup>248</sup>	Mod. Greek	OT <sup>249</sup>
99. Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 406 <sup>250</sup>	excerpt(s) <sup>251</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>252</sup>

MS	Extent	Byz./Mod. Greek	Single/with other texts (OT)
100. Athos, Μονή 'Αγίου Παντελεήμονος 276 (a. 1853) <sup>253</sup>	whole Life <sup>254</sup>	Mod. Greek	OT <sup>255</sup>
101. Athos, Μονή Γρηγορίου 40 <sup>256</sup>	condensed Life or excerpt <sup>257</sup>	Mod. Greek	OT <sup>258</sup>
102. Athos, Μονή 'Αγίου Παντελεήμονος 639 <sup>259</sup>	excerpt <sup>260</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>261</sup>
103. Athos, Μονή Κουτλουμουσίου 595 (a. 1888) <sup>262</sup>	excerpt <sup>263</sup>	Byz. (?)	OT <sup>264</sup>
104. Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ. Νέα Συλλογή 99 <sup>265</sup>	condensed Life (?) and excerpt <sup>266</sup>	Byz. (?)	OT <sup>267</sup>
105. Paros, Μονή Χριστού του Δάσους (a. 1873) ? <sup>268</sup>	condensed Life (?)	Byz. (?)	single (?)

*Addenda**14th century*

106. Escorial X-I-13 = no. 352 Miller <sup>269</sup>	excerpt <sup>270</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>271</sup>
--	------------------------	------	-------------------

*16th century*

107. Patmos, Μονή του 'Αγίου 'Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου 672 (a. 1507) <sup>272</sup>	excerpts <sup>273</sup>	Byz.	OT <sup>274</sup>
---	-------------------------	------	-------------------

*17th-18th century*

108. Athos, Μονή Διονυσίου 1011 <sup>275</sup>	whole Life?	Byz.?	single
--	-------------	-------	--------

*18th century*

109. Athos, Μονή Διονυσίου 1012 <sup>276</sup>	whole Life?	Byz.?	single
--	-------------	-------	--------

Also the following MSS are known, although they have not been preserved:

*Before 1201 ?*

110. Patmos, Μονή του 'Αγίου 'Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου <sup>277</sup>	whole Life?	Byz.	single?
---	-------------	------	---------

*Before 1600*

111. Escorial 807 Miller <sup>278</sup>	excerpt <sup>279</sup>	Byz.?	OT <sup>280</sup>
112. Escorial 811 Miller <sup>281</sup>	whole Life?	Byz.?	single

Thus the known copies of *VA* show the following chronological distribution:<sup>282</sup>

<i>Century</i>	<i>Number</i>
11th	2
12th	4
13th	5
14th	9
15th	10
16th	23
17th	35
18th	12
19th	12

The small numbers for the earlier centuries are probably deceptive; the early appearance of differing versions, the Calabrian provenance of no. 5, the Georgian and Russian translations (see *infra*), and the borrowings from *VA* in *VNiph* indicate that *VA* had a rather wide circulation even in the 11th–12th centuries. Interest in *VA* seems to have reached its peak, however, on Mount Athos in the 17th century.<sup>283</sup>

The following scribes have signed their copies:

11th–12th century	Γεώργιος νοτάριος Ταραν[τηνός?], in Zakynthos: no. 3
13th century	Παΐσιος ταπεινός, i.e. monk: no. 8, from the monastery of Kosinita, a. 1293. Cf. Marie Vogel–V. Gardthausen, <i>Die griech. Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance</i> = <i>Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen</i> , Beiheft 33 (Leipzig, 1909), 74.
16th century	Διονύσιος ἱερομόναχος καὶ πνευματικὸς πατήρ: no. 38, a. 1562, at CP. Νεόφυτος μοναχός: no. 32, a. 1591. Ἰωασάφ ἱερομόναχος: no. 33, a. 1594. Μιχαὴλ Ἀντριστος (or Ἀντρηστος), secretary (νοτάριος) of the Metropolis of Athens: no. 36, a. 1586. Cf. Gamillscheg–Harlfinger, <i>Repertorium</i> , I, A, 148f.
17th century	Ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρίστης γραφεὺς πενιχρός: no. 81, a. 1616; no. 82, same year. Γεράσιμος οἰκτρὸς ἱερομόναχος: no. 54, a. 1670. Γεράσιμος οἰκτρὸς ἱερομόναχος (same as foreg.): no. 77, a. 1665. Γεράσιμος ἱερομόναχος (to judge from Lampros this is not the same scribe as foreg.; formula: Θεοῦ δῶρον καὶ Γερασίου πόνος): no. 53, a. 1670.



- Ἰωάννης Στεργίου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις ἐλάχιστος: no. 78, a. 1693.
- Ἰωσήφ ἱερομόναχος: no. 80, a. 1683.
- Κύριλλος μοναχός: no. 62, a. 1605–13.
- Ματθαῖος ἱερομόναχος πνευματικός: no. 67 (year not indicated).
- Παρθένιος ἱεροδιάκονος καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς αἰσχρὸς: no. 70 (year not indicated).
- Σωφρόνιος ταπεινὸς καὶ πρῶην Μελένικος: no. 56, a. 1627 (in the monastery of Kosinita?).
- Συμεὼν μοναχὸς ἐκ χωρίου Ἐζερού: no. 60, a. 1623.
- 18th century Ἀμβρόσιος εὐτελὴς ὁ ἐκ Γαλατᾶ τῆς Βυζαντίδος, Athonite monk of the Pantokrator monastery: no. 89 (a. 1720?).
- Ἱερόθεος, οἰκτρὸς μοναχός: no. 86, a. 1778.
- 19th century Ἰάκωβος μοναχὸς Ἀγιορείτης: no. 100, a. 1853 on Mount Athos.
- Ἰάκωβος: no. 96, a. 1872 in the monastery of Vatopedi.
- Κύριλλος Ἀγιαννανίτης, Athonite monk (1848–80): no. 97.
- Λουκάς ἱερομόναχος: no. 104.
- Ματθαῖος Ἐφέσιος μουσικός, μοναχὸς Βατοπαιδινός: no. 95, a. 1823 in the monastery of Vatopedi.
- Πολύκαρπος: no. 105, a. 1873 in the monastery of ἡ Φανερωμένη, Naxos.

At least 15 of the MSS listed, perhaps as many as 23, are written in Modern Greek. The overwhelming majority, however, are written in Byzantine Greek; before c. 1600 all MSS except one are in Byzantine Greek.

About half the number of MSS, between 45 and 50, contain the whole *Life*, although in many cases it has been more or less condensed or expanded. Of those which I have had the opportunity to examine, nine contain (or, in the case of no. 20, should have contained) a complete  $\beta$  version, namely nos. 12 (=B), 13, 19, 20, 23 (=M), 30, 31, 36 (=V), and 50 (=L). Of these, I have used four (nos. 12, 23, 36, and 50) for the critical edition. It is remarkable that so many late MSS contain the complete original version, whereas the oldest MSS have preserved only parts of it.

Some parts of *VA* have proved more popular than others, as the following survey of the contents of the excerpts, as far as I know them, indicates.

The *apocalypse* (lines 3805–4131), complete or in part, with or without the end of the *Vita*:

- No. 16: 4004–151
- No. 17: 3805–4329
- No. 25: 3808–4002
- No. 26: 3805–end, including app. *d*
- No. 27: 3805–4131
- No. 29: 3805–26
- No. 43: 3823–4036
- No. 44: 3805–920
- No. 46: 3805–26
- No. 49: 3805–end
- No. 62: 4051–317, app. *d*, lines 1–175
- No. 64: 3805ff.?
- No. 65: 3805ff.
- No. 66: 4069ff.
- No. 71: extent not specified in the catalogue
- No. 72: 3805ff.
- No. 73: 3805ff.
- No. 74: 3805–26
- No. 88: 3805–end
- No. 89: 3805ff.
- No. 90: 3805–end
- No. 92: 3805ff.
- No. 98: 3805–end, including app. *d*
- No. 102: extent not specified; probably not the whole *apocalypse*
- No. 103: extent not specified
- No. 107: 3805–4329
- No. 111: extent not specified

The *erotapokriseis* (lines 2893–3460):

- No. 10
- No. 16: with omissions
- No. 17: 2932–3420
- No. 24: 2897–963
- No. 35: 3068–225
- No. 40: 2946ff.
- No. 48: 3174–225, on the Prophet Elijah
- No. 73: 3100ff.
- No. 82: 2893–931
- No. 87
- No. 98
- No. 106: 3246–70
- No. 107: 2932–3420

The *rich man's funeral* (1498–562): nos. 16, 18, 39, 41, 42 and 69. All the excerpts, with the possible exception of no. 69, extend to 1596.

*The winter storm and Andrew's visit to heaven* (422–737): nos. 45, 65, 67, 68, and 98 (1–751).

*Epiphanius' schoolfellow John* (2203–424): nos. 17, 24 (2203–647), 65, 73, 82, and 107.

*The monk at the Staurion* (1952–2124): nos. 18, 69, 70 (?), and 82.

*The magician Vigrinos* (2425–647): nos. 18, 24, and 82.

*Prayers*: nos. 63 (4338ff.?), 91 (3648ff., 4338ff.), and 104 (4338ff.?).

*Appendix d* (except MSS included under *Apocalypse*): nos. 28 (161–75), 75 (217–end), and 76 (161–75).

*The beginning of VA*: nos. 16 (1–217) and 98 (1–751).

*The plague* (1830–58): nos. 24 and 82.

*The grave robber* (1859–918): nos. 69 and 82.

*Visions in the church* (1597–790): nos. 16 (1597–712) and 24 (1597–686).

*Epiphanius' temptation* (2714–81): nos. 24 (2726–81) and 82.

*The Deacon Raphael* (2782–868): nos. 16 (2836–68) and 82.

*The rich man who defiles the Imperial Palace* (2869–92): nos. 16 and 24.

*Barbara's vision* (3559–614): nos. 16 and 82.

*Epiphanius' bean soup* (922–1032): no. 24.

*The vision of the church of the Holy Apostles* (1791–858): no. 62.

*Andrew before the gates of the Senate* (1934–51): *ibidem*.

*Epiphanius' good friend* (2125–202): *ibidem*.

*The vision of the Prophet David* (2648–73): *ibidem*.

*The miserly rich man* (2674–706): *ibidem*.

*The blasphemer* (3461–558): *ibidem*.

*The chartoularios plôimôn* (3759–804): *ibidem*.

*The end of VA*: no. 24 (4318–400).

As this survey shows, the part of VA that was most often copied in the form of an excerpt was the apocalypse, often in combination with the end of the Vita or parts of it (27 MSS). Quite naturally, the section most similar to the apocalypse, i.e. the *erotapokriseis*, comes next (13 MSS). Among the remaining excerpts, those of the rich man's funeral (6 MSS), the story of Epiphanius' schoolfellow John (6 MSS), the winter storm and Andrew's visit to heaven (5 MSS), and the story of the greedy monk (4 MSS) are the most frequent. Obviously those who made excerpts concentrated on the apocalyptic, pseudo-learned, visionary and moralizing material. It is, therefore, remarkable that in contrast to the Russian tradition (cf. *infra*), there is no



evidence (with the exception of the case mentioned in note 254) for any particular interest in the vision of the Virgin at Blachernae (3732–58). On the other hand, it is not surprising that the beginning of VA was neglected by those who made excerpts, since this is concerned with the ascetic career of Andrew himself and therefore more suited to a condensed Life than an excerpt.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the frequency with which a certain passage was excerpted is an inexact gauge of its popularity, since the same passage may be omitted from some of the more or less whole Lives. For instance, the story of the monk at the Staurion (1952–2125), which appears in four excerpts, is omitted from nos. 15 and 59.

As the list above shows, 31 MSS contain VA alone, the proportion of such MSS being largest in the early centuries, whereas 74 MSS contain other texts as well, 7 at present being uncertain cases. In the oldest MSS with more than one text, Andrew appears in combination with Early Byzantine or Early Christian saints (Symeon Salos in no. 1, Theodore of Sykeon in no. 2, Pankratios of Tauromenion and Prokopios of Caesarea in no. 5), which is in line with the internal chronology of the Vita.<sup>284</sup> Later, Andrew was combined with all sorts of saints. Most often he is accompanied by John Kalybitis (see nos. 31, 41, 49, 59, 75, 76, 83), Markos the Athenian (7, 30, 41, 49, 62, 66, 89), Makarios of Egypt (20, 45, 69, 89, 90), Niphon (62, 66, 70, 80, 89), Basil the Younger (7, 15, 66, 100), Abraham and Mary (39, 42, 49, 75), and Alexios, man of God (20, 41, 49). These are all highly legendary saints, in whose company Andrew fits well; in the cases of Niphon and Basil the Younger there are also many other similarities.

It is remarkable that the *saloi* are so rare in this material. If we except Basil the Younger, who sometimes pretended to be a Holy Fool<sup>285</sup> and Philaretos the Merciful (no. 59 in its present shape and no. 83), who is so generous as to look like a fool, we find Symeon Salos only once (no. 1) and the nun who feigned to be a fool in a convent at Tabennisi also only once (no. 81). I have found no other example. The copyists seem to have felt that Andrew was not a real Holy Fool and that other aspects of his Life are more important.

Besides Lives and Passions of the saints the VA MSS also contain a number of edifying short stories, such as those of Metrios (nos. 64, 76), Kosmas (18, 70), Christopher the Merciful (18), Euphrosynos the cook (70, 76), Zacharias the cobbler (70), and Zosimos (25, 49).

Homilies and other compositions by the Fathers of the Church are ubiquitous, as are apocalypses, *erotapokriseis* and related texts, especially in the later MSS. Among the apocalyptic pieces, the Revelation of Ps-

Methodios, the oracles of Leo VI and various visions of Daniel are by far the most frequent, but VA also appears in combination with the Apocalypse of the Virgin (nos. 41, 79), oracles attributed to the Patriarch Tarasios (88, 102), prophecies attributed to the Abbas Moses the Ethiopian (94), a prophecy on Crete by Pseudo-Ezekiel (74), another on the Eastern Roman Empire under Turkish domination (*ibidem*) and two apocalyptic treatises written in the 18th century by Anastasios Gordios<sup>286</sup> (88) and Theokletos Polyeides<sup>287</sup> (88, 92).

As one might expect, there are several apocryphal texts in the VA MSS. In addition to those already mentioned we find the Testament of Abraham (nos. 50, 80), the Book of Tobit (35), the correspondence between Pontius Pilate and Tiberius (39, 41), the letter of Abgar (25), the letter of Diokles of Karystos to King Antigonos (44), and PsAthanasios, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum* (39, 48). Some of the PsAthanasian questions are reminiscent of the *erotapokriseis* of VA, although the latter are more concerned with cosmology and the interpretation of various Bible passages.

Finally it may be worth noticing that VA also appears together with some secular or semi-secular documents; so in nos. 26 (the chronicle of Constantine Manasses), 27 (scientific treatises by highbrow authors), 63 and 79 (astronomy), 63 (model letters to bishops), 66 (on Mount Athos; on the Franks; on the Arabs), 71 (on the fall of CP, *inter alia*), 88 (on the buildings of CP), 90 (letters), 92 ("the manifest of the Empress of All Russia Catherine Alexieuna"<sup>288</sup>) and 93 (on the organization of a girls' school).

## Notes

1. A preliminary list of 46 MSS was drawn up by Murray, *A Study*, 64–83; the importance of this kind of information has been stressed by Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 889f. and Evelyne Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde", 218–21.
2. I.e. the likely original extent, which may be different from the present state of preservation.
3. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος*, 103; Halkin, *Catalogue*, 64; Rydén, *Leben*, 31f.
4. The MS consists of two different parts, one written on parchment in the 11th century (fols. 1–276), the other on paper in the 15th century (fols. 277–297). Fols. 72–276<sup>v</sup> contain VA lines 16–3868 (*inc.* αὐτοῦ· ἀρεστήναι ἐπ' αὐτόν· ἔχειν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας; *des.* διὰ τὴν κατάρατον ἀκολασίαν. One leaf is missing between fols. 77 and 78, 147 and 148, 177 and 178, 192 and 193, and 272 and 273, respectively; about four leaves are missing between fols. 103 and 104. Up to 216 the parchment section contains a contaminated β text. Then follows a rather wilful, sometimes abbreviated version reminiscent of DE, which, despite its early



date, I have found of little use for the present edition. For the paper section, see *infra*, no. 21.

5. *VSymSal*, fols. 1–71.

6. Cf. *supra*, 84.

7. Cf. *supra*, 101f.

8. *VTheodSyc*.

9. Cf. *supra*, 86.

10. Cf. *supra*, 97f.

11. J. Noret, "Fragments hagiographiques, patristiques et liturgiques de la collection Moravcsik à Budapest", *AB*, 92 (1974), 349–51, esp. 350.

12. The fragment begins να· καὶ ὅσοι οὐκ ἔξουσιν (4111f.) and ends πλὴν ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὃν φασιν (4150f.). Whether it derives from an excerpt or a complete copy is an open question, although the age of the fragment would indicate the latter.

13. Cf. *supra*, 85.

14. Cf. *supra*, 98f.

15. The Life and Passion of Pankratios of Tauromenium, *BHG* 1410b; the Passion of Prokopios of Caesarea, *BHG* 1579e.

16. E.E. Granstrem in *VizVrem*, 25 (1964), 198 (no. 468).

17. In its present state, the MS begins -ρὸς (?) αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυμάζων ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος δαίμων (1375f.). It is not a *β* text and has many variant readings of its own.

18. Cf. *supra*, 87. Called Mazarinianus by C. Janning, the first editor, and Regius 2458 by Du Cange, who used it for his *Glossarium*.

19. Cf. *supra*, 103f.

20. *VBasilun*; the Life of Paisios, *BHG* 1402; the Life of Markos the Athenian, *BHG* 1041; cf. Evelyn Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde", 218f. Like *VA*, *VBasilun* appears in abridged form.

21. Cf. *supra*, 84f.

22. Cf. *supra*, 97.

23. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, II (1894), 394.

24. The beginning is missing and has been supplemented by a later copyist called Ioannikios Sabaites who, according to Papadopoulos-Kerameus' catalogue, used a paraphrase by Agapios Landos (cf. *infra*). The original text now begins fol. 22 with the words -δεισον· ἴδες πῶς οὕτως περίεστιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἴδες καὶ ἔφριξας· (716f.). It is very like D, of which it appears to be a copy. The fols. are partly in disorder, however, and some are missing. I have noticed lacunas between ἀπείρω ἡδύτητι 996 and γλυκυτάτῳ βλέμματι ἀπιδὼν καταφιλήσας corresponding to line 1016f., between ὥσεϊ κόπρος ἐδυσώδουν καὶ ὥς- 1505f. and καὶ ἐπαύθη τοῦ θριαμβεῦσθαι corresponding to line 1591, and between ὁ δὲ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ 1843 and -τραμμένη, ἀδηλα 1881.

25. A eulogy of the Patriarch Joseph, son of Jacob, by Ephrem the Syrian.



26. Cf. *supra*, 87.

27. The *erotapokriseis*, lines 2893–3452.

28. The excerpt is no. 26 in a collection of 34 ζητήματα πατέρων, for which the writings of John Chrysostom, Photios and many others have been exploited. Some of the pieces contain anti-Latin polemics. VA seems to be the only Life represented in this collection.

29. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογοι*, 179; Halkin, *Catalogue*, 81; Krumbacher, *Der hl. Georg*, 248–50; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 747. The scribe is anonymous.

30. Fols. 1–128<sup>v</sup>. At present VA begins with the words -εἰς ἀναγγελῶ τῷ κυρίῳ μου (59f.). The text is highly contaminated, resembling now one, now another of the main versions.

31. The Passion of Barbara, *BHG* 213; three homilies for the Epiphany, Resurrection and Christmas; the story of the birth of the Martyr George, *BHG* 680b. Ehrhard thinks that, originally, the collection was larger.

32. Cf. *supra*, 82f.

33. There is no indication that the original 14th-century codex contained any other text than VA. Later it was bound together with twelve *opuscula contra Latinos* by Barlaam, copied in the 15th century.

34. Polites, *Συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι*, 160.

35. The full title of this copy is Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ· συγγραφεῖς παρὰ Νικηφόρου τοῦ ἱερέως τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἐπωνύμου τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας. This is also the title of B. In fact, this MS does not belong to the version *BHG* 116, as indicated in the catalogue, but to *BHG* 115z, i.e., it is a *β* text.

36. Cf. *supra*, 86.

37. Cf. *supra*, 96f.

38. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 356; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 924. The scribe appears to be anonymous.

39. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις. The sections 1952–2124; 3288–300; 3366–427; 3461–804; 4196–257 have been omitted, *inter alia*. Instead parts of app. *d* in the version of VCK have been included. The end follows the same version. Cf. *infra*, note 148.

40. *VBasilun*.

41. Cf. *supra*, 88f.

42. Cf. *supra*, 104.

43. Short pieces on various topics under the names of Ephrem the Syrian, M. Psellos, George of Cyprus, John of Damascus, Theodore Prodromos, and others. The excerpts from VA have been inserted between a *logos* by Ephrem the Syrian εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου, περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου καὶ περὶ τῆς συντελείας and two poems attributed to Theodore Prodromos. Cf. H.-G. Beck, “Der Leserkreis der byzantinischen Volksliteratur im Licht der handschriftlichen Überlieferung”, *Byzan-*

*tine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 47–67, esp. 52 (where this MS has mistakenly received the number 215).

44. C.T. de Murr, *Memorabilia bibliothecarum publicarum Norimbergensium et universitatis Altdorfinae*, I (Nuremberg, 1786), 54f.; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 824f.; R.E. Carter, "Some Greek Hagiographical Texts in Germany", *AB*, 84 (1966), 111f., esp. 112.

45. Fols. 101–139A, corresponding to lines 2203–424 (on Epiphanius' friend John), 2932–3420 (*erotapokriseis*), 3805–4329 (beginning of the apocalyptic section—end of Vita). Cf. *infra*, note 187.

46. The Passions of Niketas the Goth, Kosmas and Damian, Eustathios and companions; a narration on the Holy Cross; a commentary on St Luke; a eulogy on the Virgin.

47. Omont, *Inventaire*, II, 91f.; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris*, 210; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 762.

48. Fols. 39–55<sup>v</sup>, corresponding to lines 1514–93 (the story of the rich man's funeral, beginning mutilated); 1953–2124 (the monk at the Staurion); 2425–647 (the magician Vigrinos).

49. A collection of 17 short pre-Metaphrastic pieces, of which VA is no. 7. No. 6 is the well-known vision of Kosmas, *BHG* 2084, and no. 8 the story of Christopher the Merciful and the dead monk, *BHG* 1448z.

50. F. Halkin, "Manuscripts grecs des fonds «hist.» et «phil.» à Vienne et du fonds «Holkham» à Oxford", *AB*, 79 (1961), 389–411, esp. 403f.; Ruth Barbour in *The Bodleian Library Record*, 6 (1960), 597.

51. The copy represents a  $\beta$  text most closely related to no. 12 and no. 20.

52. The Lives of Mary of Egypt, Mamas, Niketas (son of Maximian), Eustathios, Symeon Stylites; homilies.

53. Benešević, *Catalogus*, III, 1, 226; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 769.

54. The copyist suddenly stopped in the middle of fol. 288<sup>v</sup> with the words ἄπεχε· βορβορώμεναι (sic), corresponding to line 1981f., after which another hand added the formula τῷ δὲ θεῷ πρέπει δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν. It is a  $\beta$  text closely related to nos. 12 and 19; it is closer to the former, however, than to the latter.

55. A story from the Life of Makarios of Egypt, *BHG* 999s; texts by John Chrysostom; the Life of Alexios, man of God; the Life of Xenophon etc., *BHG* 1877y.

56. Cf. *supra*, notes 3 and 4.

57. In the present state of preservation, this paper copy is a fragment of the end of VA, bound together with the mutilated parchment MS which begins this list. *Inc.* fol. 277 -σιλεῖα ἑτέρα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην (3885). *Des.* fol. 297 τέκνον μου, τί σακρύνεις; (4138f.). Between fols. 282 and 283 there is a lacuna corresponding to lines 3994 τάχει σφοδρῶ—4157 ὅτε δὲ τὸν λόγον. The MS does not belong to the expanded version.

58. E. Kourilas, *Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς ἱερᾶς σκήτης Κανσοκαλυβίων καὶ τῶν καλύβων αὐτῆς* = *Ἀγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 5 (Paris, 1930), 115.



59. Judging from the catalogue, the MS begins like DE. Whether it is an expanded version or not, however, cannot be decided on the basis of this information.

60. Cf. *supra*, 83.

61. A monody; a psalm; an extract from the Gospel; the Life of Eulogios, *BHG* 618; a letter by John Chrysostom written in exile; monastic διηγήσεις.

62. E.E. Granstrem in *VizVrem*, 31 (1971), 141f. (no. 620); Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 851.

63. The excerpts are not in good order; even within the same excerpt the fols. are in disorder. The following passages are represented, however: 2203–647 (fols. 124–138); 922–1032 (fols. 138–141<sup>v</sup>); 1830–58 (fols. 141<sup>v</sup>–142<sup>v</sup>); 2726–81 (fols. 142<sup>v</sup>–145); 2869–92 (fol. 145–145<sup>v</sup>); 1597–686 (fols. 145<sup>v</sup>–148<sup>v</sup>); 2896–963 (fols. 149–150<sup>v</sup>); 4318–400 (fols. 151–153<sup>v</sup>).

64. The Lives of Markianos, *BHG* 1034, and Athanasios of Athos; Neilos' of Ankyra account of the martyrdom of the monks of Sinai and Raithu; wonder stories; homilies.

65. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος*, 60; Halkin, *Catalogue*, 45.

66. Fols. 79–85<sup>v</sup>, corresponding to lines 3808–4002 (the apocalyptic section until the end of CP). The excerpt does not belong to the expanded version.

67. The MS contains a large number of various short texts, among them the story of Zosimos, two λόγοι on the Second Coming, the Revelation of PsMethodios, and the letter of Abgar.

68. Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris*, 230; H. Omont, *Inventaire*, II, 138.

69. Fols. 160–181, corresponding to the beginning of the apocalypse, line 3805–end, including app. *d* according to VKC. The spelling is unusually irregular.

70. VA is preceded by the Chronicle of Constantine Manasses and followed by the Barlaam and Joasaph romance.

71. Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris*, 233; Omont, *Inventaire*, II, 270.

72. Fols. 229–231, 236<sup>v</sup>–242, corresponding to lines 3805–4131 (the apocalypse) in the ζ version.

73. VA is no. 20 in a collection of short texts on topics such as geography, astronomy, seismology, botany, the Creation, the wonders of the world, the nature of man, the seven sages, and divination. For a MS containing VA, the number of highbrow authors is high: Aristotle, Aesopos, Nikephoros Gregoras, M. Psellos, Nikephoros Blemmydes are mentioned. The use of the word βίβλος instead of the normal βίος in the title of the excerpt (Ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ) fits this context. The copyist seems to have regarded VA as an important source of information.

74. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri and G. Muccio, "Index codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae", *SittalFCl*, 4 (1896), 7–184, esp. 169f.

75. Fols. 14<sup>v</sup>–15, corresponding to app. *d* 161–75.

76. VA is no. 3 in a collection, mutilated at the beginning, of short pieces on monastic and ecclesiastical topics.



77. H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum mss. Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. I, *recensionem codicum graecorum continens* (Oxford, 1853), 508–10; O. Demus, ed., *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, vol. 2 by Irmgard Hutter, *Oxford Bodleian Library*, II (Stuttgart, 1978), 70.

78. Fols. 6<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>v</sup> (now 7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup>) corresponding to lines 3805–26 (the beginning of the apocalypse; the identification was done by F. Halkin). The excerpt ends with the words καὶ ἔσται ὁ πρῶτος δεῦτερος καὶ ὁ δεῦτερος πρῶτος, which is not in my text but puts the MS in the same group as nos. 46 and 74.

79. Mainly prophecies.

80. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαυρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη*, 79; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 937.

81. Fols. 189–310. Copy of β version, closely related to no. 50.

82. VA is no. 3 in a collection of 15 texts; among them the Life of Markos from Athens, homilies by Makarios of Egypt and excerpts from Isaac Syrus, Maximos Confessor, and others.

83. *Otchet Imperatorskoj Publichnoj Biblioteki za 1899 god* (St Petersburg, 1903), 95f.; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 937.

84. Fols. 1–215<sup>v</sup>. Copy of β version.

85. The Life of John Kalybites and a homily by John Chrysostom (fols. 216–238).

86. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαυρογορδάτειος βιβλιοθήκη*, 88; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 949f. The MS was copied by the monk Neophytos.

87. According to the catalogue, the title is βιβλίον (sic) τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν Σαλοῦ ἐκ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ, which gives the impression that VA has been abridged. However, as the MS is said to contain 136 fols., not too much seems to have been left out. The beginning is of the β type.

88. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 182f.; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 950. The MS was written by the monk Joasaph.

89. The beginning and end as quoted by Lampros are reminiscent of E.

90. I.N. Lebedeva, *Opisanie rukopisnogo otdela biblioteki Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 5. *Grecheskie rukopisi* (Leningrad, 1973), 89f.; K.K. Papoulides, "Τὸ χειρόγραφο 126 τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ Ῥωσικοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως," *Theologia*, 58 (1987), 144–51; *idem*, "Rukopis No. 126 sobraniya Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole," *BS*, 52 (1991), 47f. The MS seems to derive from the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos.

91. Fols. 1–10 akolouthia, 10<sup>v</sup>–207<sup>v</sup> VA in a version related to D, although it has many variant readings of its own. It omits lines 4284–317, 4338–64, 4380–400 and has an individual end formula.

92. H.O. Coxe, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Oxford Colleges* (Oxford, 1852, repr. 1972), 1–4; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, II, 282, note 1.

93. Fols. 1–2<sup>r</sup>, corresponding to lines 3068–συντελείας 3225 (excerpt from the *erotapokriseis*). The text is reminiscent of E.

94. The excerpt from VA belongs to a fragment consisting of five leaves from a MS dated to the 16th century, whereas the main part of Lincoln I was written in the 14th century. The VA excerpt is followed by a θεωρία παλαιὰ τοῦ Δανιὴλ ὅτε ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων, an excerpt ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας περὶ Ἀββακούμ (fol. 3, col. 1), and an ἱστορία παλαιὰ εἰς τὸν Τωβίτ (fol. 3, col. 2; BHG 2461). The MS of the 14th century, with which these pieces have been united, is a homiliary.

95. Cf. *supra*, 87f.

96. By accident, the copyist began to reproduce app. d in the version of E; this excepted, the MS belongs to the β version.

97. The Barlaam and Joasaph romance.

98. Eustratiades–Arcadios, *Catalogue*, 24; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 949.

99. The full title is Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν μωρίαν ὑποκριναμένου. *Inc.* Βίον τινὸς ἐναρέτου ἀνδρός, ὃ φιλακροάμονες, μέλλοντός μου διηγῆσασθαι συντείνετε ἑαυτοὺς, παρακαλῶ, εἰς τὴν ἀκρόασιν. *Des.* καὶ τὴν εὐδοίαν πληθυνομένην ἔτι καὶ ἔτι, probably corresponding to line 4379f. At the beginning of the apocalypse there is a remark on the sons of Hagar and the ‘fair nation’, as in the ζ version.

100. Originally, the MS seems to have consisted of 333 fols., of which now only the last 77 remain. Of these, fols. 1–73 contain VA and fols. 74–77 a διήγησις ἐκ τοῦ πατερικοῦ περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἁγίων.

101. P.N. Papageorgiou, “Ἡ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ μονὴ τῶν Βλαταίων καὶ τὰ μετόχια αὐτῆς,” *BZ*, 8 (1899), 402–28, esp. 405; S. Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ Βλατέων ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων* (Thessalonica, 1918), 72; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 949, note 6. The MS was copied at CP by a monk called Dionysios.

102. The MS is entitled Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ. The expression μερικὴ ... διήγησις does not mean, however, that anything has been left out on purpose, although between fols. 207 and 209 the passage 3403–507 is missing. As in the ζ version there is a remark on the sons of Hagar and the ‘fair nation’ at the beginning of the apocalypse. Of the appendices, the MS certainly contains the long app. d and perhaps also the other appendices.

103. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος*, 79; Halkin, *Catalogue*, 53.

104. Fols. 382–392, corresponding to lines 1498–596. Title: Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σαλοῦ περὶ τῆς θέας τοῦ πλουσίου; *Des.* ἴδετε εἰς πόσῃν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ἐντροπῇ ἐθαψαν αὐτόν· ἴδετε εἰς πόσῃν τιμῇ τιμῶσιν οἱ δαίμονες τοὺς τιμοῦντας αὐτοὺς· δράμωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν· μετανοήσωμεν· κλαύσωμεν μήπως εὗρη καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ θάνατος ἀμετανοήτους καὶ πάθωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῦ· ἥς γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν τῆς οὐρανίου βασιλείας· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος. This is a shorter version of the end appearing in no. 41; cf. also no. 42.

105. VA is no. 14 in a collection containing, *inter alia*, *erotapokriseis*, PsAthanasios’ *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, the apocryphal correspondence between Pontius Pilate and the Emperor Tiberius, the story of the hermit Abraham and his niece Mary, BHG 7d, the miracles of St Theodore Tiron (preceding VA), περὶ τοῦ



μὴ ἐγεγρηθῆναι τῆς κυριακῆς εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον (following VA), and the Life of St Martinianos. Cf. *infra*, note 114.

106. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 48.

107. The MS consists of 165 fols. containing 29 items. No. 22 (fols. 109–130<sup>v</sup> or 131) is entitled 'Εκ τοῦ βήου (sic) τοῦ αγίου (sic) Ανδρέου (sic) τοῦ σαλοῦ; unfortunately, Lampros does not specify which part or parts of the Vita this corresponds to. No. 23 (fols. 131–159<sup>v</sup> or 160) has no title but is labelled Βίος καὶ διηγήσεις περὶ ἁγ. 'Επιφανίου. In fact, the *incipit* shows that this text too is an excerpt from VA, namely of 2946 πρῶτος ἐτέθη θεμέλιος etc. (part of the *erotapokriseis*). The *incipit* also shows that the MS does not belong to the β family.

108. Excerpts from Lives of saints, *erotapokriseis*, oracles. Διηγήσεις by (Pseudo-) Makarios of Egypt precede the excerpts from VA and αἰνίγματα by Leo the Wise follow them.

109. M. Richard, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum*. Publications de l'institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, III (Paris, 1952), 45–7; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 860f.

110. Fols. 277–279<sup>v</sup>, corresponding to lines 1498–596 (the rich man's funeral). To the excerpt the following end has been added: ἴδετε, ἄδελφοί, τὸν πανάθλιον τοῦτον εἰς τί ἀτιμίαν κατήντησεν· ἴδετε εἰς πόσῃν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ἐντροπῇν ἔθαψαν αὐτόν· ἴδετε εἰς πόσῃν τιμῇν τιμῶσιν οἱ δαίμονες τοὺς τιμῶντας αὐτούς· ἴδετε τί ἔπαθεν διὰ τί οὐκ ἐξομολογήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐμετανόησεν· δρᾶμωμεν ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν· μετανοήσωμεν, κλαύσωμεν, μήπως εὕρη καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ θάνατος ἀμετανοήτους καὶ πάθωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ βοήσωμεν καὶ κράζωμεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν αὐτόν, ἵνα εὕρωμεν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως καὶ τύχωμεν τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῆς οὐρανίου βασιλείας ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν (spelling slightly corrected). A shorter form of this additional end of the same excerpt appears in nos. 39 and 42.

111. Canons, hymns, sermons, hagiography, apocalyptic pieces. Among the Lives are those of Markos of Athens, John Kalybites and Alexios. The apocalyptic genre is represented by the apocalypse of the Theotokos. Like no. 39 this MS also contains the apocryphal correspondence between Pontius Pilate and the Emperor Tiberius. Cf. *infra*, note 114.

112. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci*, II, 84ff.; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 886.

113. Fols. 425–427<sup>v</sup>, corresponding to lines 1498–596 (the rich man's funeral). A short version of the additional end appearing in no. 41 has been added to the excerpt, cf. *supra*, notes 104 and 110.

114. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 886: "Nach ... folgt eine grosse Reihe von hagiographischen Texten (untermischt mit einigen Festreden und Homilien), die sich zum grössten Teil auf den Kreis von Heiligen beziehen, die offenbar wegen der Beliebtheit ihrer Legenden der ganzen Gruppe der nichtmenologischen Sammlungen ihr charakteristisches Gepräge geben: Blasios, Petrus und Paulus, die Zwölfapostel ..." The contents of this MS are very like those of no. 39, a MS that evidently also belongs to the group described by Ehrhard. Cf. also *supra*, notes 105 and 111.



115. Hunger, *Katalog*, 114. The MS was acquired in Constantinople.

116. Fols. 6–12, corresponding to lines 3823–4036 (the first two thirds of the apocalypse). Ed. by Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, 50–8.

117. Daniel's last vision and a curious anonymous prophecy in Modern Greek.

118. Omont, *Inventaire*, II, 112f.; Halkin, *Manuscripts grecs de Paris*, 229. At least the first 72 fols. (14th century) were written in Cyprus, see J. Darrouzès, "Manuscripts originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris", *REB*, 8 (1950), 162–96, esp. 192.

119. Fols. 136–142<sup>v</sup>, corresponding to lines 3805–920 (the first third of the apocalypse, until the end of the Christian empire). Not a  $\beta$  text.

120. The part of the MS that derives from the 16th century, to which the excerpt from VA belongs, contains treatises on relationships preventing marriage, on the Armenians, on the categories of Aristotle; *erotapokriseis* and a dialogue against the Jews by Athanasios of Alexandria; a colloquium on the day of doom; the spurious letter by Diokles of Karystos to Antigonos; theological and liturgical fragments. In this part, VA is the only piece of hagiography.

121. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος*, 149f.; Halkin, *Catalogue*, 66; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 980, note 5.

122. Fols. 242<sup>v</sup>–261, corresponding to lines 422–752 (Andrew's visit to heaven during a winter storm). The text is reminiscent of E.

123. Various akolouthiai and prayers; pieces by Diadochos of Photike, Theodore Sabaites, Basil the Great, Maximos Confessor; a διήγησις by Makarios of Egypt, which precedes the VA excerpt.

124. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci*, III, 179f.; Rigo, *Oracula Leonis*, 74.

125. Fols. 103–104, corresponding to lines 3805–26 (the beginning of the apocalyptic section). At the end, the excerpt has the same addition as nos. 29 and 74. Fol. 172 has an Italian translation of this excerpt, rendering "Ismaelitai" by "Turchi".

126. Oracles of Leo VI; the Revelation of PsMethodios; description of the 100 ancient cities of Crete.

127. Spyridon–Eustratiades, *Catalogue*, 134; Eustratiades, *Συμπλήρωμα*, 6.

128. The Vita has been damaged both at the beginning and at the end. *Inc.* τὸν εἶδε μία ἀπὸ ἐκείναις σχηματιζόμενον ὅτι εἶνε τρελός, apparently corresponding to line 299f. *Des.* νὰ μὴ πράξεις τίποτε οὔτε νὰ εὐγῆς ἔξω μεριὰ διότι, the counterpart of which I cannot locate.

129. *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manuscripti ... Codices manuscripti graeci Ottoboniani ...*, rec. E. Feron–F. Battaglini (Rome, 1893), 229–32; *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, edd. hagiographi Bollandiani and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri [SubsHag, 7] (Brussels, 1899), 289. The MS once belonged to the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

130. Fols. 311<sup>v</sup>–312<sup>v</sup>, corresponding to lines 3174–225 (excerpt from the *erotapokriseis*). The text is reminiscent of no. 2 (P), written in CP, which has an abbreviated text from c. 1217 to c. 3620.

131. The MS contains no less than 76 short pieces on various subjects of interest to

monks. There are several texts attributed to the Patriarch Nikephoros of CP. There are also a number of apocalyptic texts, among them the Revelation of PsMethodios and visions of Daniel. The excerpt from VA follows upon a copy of John of Damascus, *περὶ διαφορῶν τινῶν ... ἐρωτήσεων*. The last item of the collection is PsAthanasios, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*.

132. E. v. Dobschütz, "Eine Sammelhandschrift des 16. Jahrhunderts", *BZ*, 15 (1906), 243–74, esp. 271–3; Van de Vorst–Delehay, *Catalogus*, 177–80; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 751f.

133. Fols. 374–422, corresponding to lines 3805–end (the apocalypse and the end of the Vita).

134. The MS consists of two parts, the first containing a large collection of exegetical, dogmatical, canonical and liturgical texts, the second a collection of hagiographical texts, of which the excerpt from VA is the last but one, the last being on Judas Iscariot. Among the hagiographical texts there are four that often appear together with VA, namely the Lives of John Kalybites and Alexios, a διήγησις about Markos from Athens and the story of the hermit Abraham and his niece Mary. The MS also contains the story of Zosimos, *BHG* 1890a.

135. Cf. *supra*, 83.

136. The *Testament of Abraham*, *BHG* 2001.

137. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 213; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 950, note 3.

138. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 37.

139. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 291. The name of the scribe was Gerasimos.

140. The *Catecheseis* by Theodore of Studios; the *Capita de caritate* by Maximos Confessor.

141. Spyridon–Eustratiades, *Catalogue*, 199. The MS was written by the monk and priest Gerasimos; cf. *infra*, note 198.

142. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 63.

143. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἐκθεσις*, 38; also B. Atsalos, *Τα χειρόγραφα της Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς της Κοσνίντισσας* (Drama, 1990), 82. The present location of the MS is unknown. It was written by the monk Sophronios.

144. Cf. *supra*, 85f.

145. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 254; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 975.

146. The MS contains 291 fols. (size 14,5 x 9,5 cm), some of which are in disorder. There are also some omissions or abridgements. The text is rather like that of D, although at the beginning of the apocalypse it has the additional remark on the sons of Hagar and the 'fair nation' typical of ζ.

147. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 377.

148. This copy belongs to the same version as no. 15; it has the same title and omits the same passages; cf. *supra*, note 39. S.N. Schoinas' edition is based on this MS, cf. *BHG* 117b.

149. VA is the first text of the MS and ends fol. 142. Originally, it may have been a codex of its own or a part of a different collection. It was copied by two hands, both



writing in archaic style. Fols. 143ff. are in contemporary handwriting. This part begins with a table of contents, which does not include VA. Then follow the Life of Aecaterina (in Modern Greek), the Life of Philaretos the Merciful (in Modern Greek), the Passion of Barbara, the Life of John Kalybites, excerpts from the Life of Antony the Great (in Modern Greek) and many other hagiographic and related texts; texts no. 26f. contain the apocryphal correspondence between Pontius Pilate and the Emperor Tiberius.

150. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 215. The MS was written by the monk Symeon ἐκ χωρίου Ἐξερῶ.

151. Two texts: Τὸ μικρὸν ἀπόδειπνον (before VA, written by a different hand), and Ἱστορία Διονυσίου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀσκούντος ἐν τῇ σκήτῃ τῆς Λαύρας (after VA, in Modern Greek).

152. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci*, II, 97f.; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 950, note 3.

153. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 436; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 937f. The MS was written by the monk Kyrillos.

154. Fols. 236–246<sup>v</sup> or 247, corresponding to lines 4051–317, *d* 1–175 (from the appearance of the unclean nations to the second half of app. *d*).

155. Ehrhard characterizes the MS as an “asketisches Handbüchlein”, in which the majority of the texts (20 items) are in more or less Modern Greek, as are the (abridged) *VNiph* and the Life of Markos from Athens.

156. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 81f.

157. According to Lampros, the MS contains two excerpts from VA, one canon (fols. 35<sup>v</sup>–41<sup>v</sup> or 42) and one prayer (fols. 134–136<sup>v</sup> or 137); the latter perhaps corresponds to line 4338ff.

158. The MS is a mixed collection of canons, prayers, riddles, astronomical comments, model letters to bishops, and so on.

159. Spyridon–Eustratiades, *Catalogue*, 134.

160. According to the catalogue, fols. 1–7<sup>v</sup> or 8 contain χρησμοὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν Σαλοῦ, which may correspond to 3805ff.

161. Hymns; the Lives of Donatos, *BHG* 2112, and Nikolaos; the Passions of George and Demetrios; the edifying story of the peasant Metrios (cf. *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehaye, 721,25ff.) and similar pieces; the Revelation of PsMethodios; *erot-apokriseis*; all in all 18 items.

162. Spyridon–Eustratiades, *Catalogue*, 264.

163. Fols. 54–78<sup>v</sup> or 79 περὶ Ἰωάννου συμμαθητοῦ τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου; fols. 79–134<sup>v</sup> or 135 ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων, περὶ τῆς Κ/πόλεως καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελείας; fols. 135–162 (the last fol. of the MS, which is mutilated) περὶ τῆς βοηθείας (read βίας) τοῦ χειμῶνος, evidently corresponding to lines 2203ff, 3805ff. and 422ff., respectively. The catalogue does not present the story of Epiphanius' schoolfellow John as an excerpt from VA, although it obviously derives from this source; cf. *infra*, note 187.



164. Five *logoi* (two by Basil the Great) and a διήγησις περὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαντος τὸν δαίμονα.

165. Spyridon–Eustratiades, *Catalogue*, 275.

166. Fols. 150–154<sup>v</sup> or 155 Ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, probably corresponding to line 4069ff.

167. *VNiph* and the Life of Markos from Athens; edifying stories by Paulos of Monemvasia and others; texts on Mount Athos and the monasteries τοῦ Βατοπεδίου and τοῦ Ζωγράφου; a piece on the Arabs and another on the Franks, an extract from *VBaslun* on the τελωνεῖα ἐναέρια (fols. 86–93<sup>v</sup> or 94) etc. (18 items).

168. Spyridon–Eustratiades, *Catalogue*, 275f. The MS was written by the monk Matthaeos.

169. Fols. 49–65<sup>v</sup> or 66 περὶ τῆς βίας τοῦ χειμῶνος (422ff.).

170. 18 παρανέσεις and similar texts for the edification of monks. Cf. *infra*, note 173.

171. Spyridon–Eustratiades, *Catalogue*, 332. In 1628, the MS belonged to the *hieromonachos* and *rhetor* Ieremias and his friends.

172. Fols. 58–75<sup>v</sup> or 76 περὶ τῆς βίας τοῦ χειμῶνος (422ff.).

173. The contents of this MS correspond almost exactly to those of no. 67.

174. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 297f.

175. Fols. 14–20<sup>v</sup> or 21 on the rich man's funeral; fols. 21–25<sup>v</sup> or 26 on the grave robber; fols. 26–37<sup>v</sup> or 38 on the monk at the Staurion; corresponding to lines 1498ff., 1859ff. and 1952ff.

176. A διήγησις attributed to Makarios of Egypt; the Lives of Makarios of Rome and of Theodora, *BHG* 1727; edifying visions and stories, among them one on a certain Demetrios by the monk Metrophanes, translated into Modern Greek by Laurentios Kyrios.

177. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, V (1915), 117f. The MS was written by the priest and deacon Parthenios.

178. Fols. 40–54<sup>v</sup> διήγησις καὶ ὁπτασία τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ πάντῳ ὠφέλιμος. *Inc.* Ἐγένετο ποτὲ ὁ ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας ..., which perhaps corresponds to line 1952ff. (the story of the monk at the Staurion).

179. Edifying stories and visions, among them one from *VNiph*, one on a certain Demetrios by Metrophanes, and several from the Synaxarium (Kosmas, Makarios of Rome, Zacharias the cobbler, Euphrosynos the cook); the collection, which consists of 12 items, ends with a prayer by Pachomios.

180. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, III (1897), 327f.

181. The excerpt is from the apocalyptic section, although its exact extent does not appear from the catalogue, which says “ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ, περὶ τοῦ Ξανθοῦ Γένους, περὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης βασιλείας τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος βασιλέως Ἰωάννου.” The last words seem to refer to another apocalypse, perhaps a vision of Daniel.

182. The MS contains a collection of polemical, historical, pseudo-historical, pseudo-scientific and apocalyptic short texts, four of which concern the fall of CP.

183. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, II (1894), 593f.

184. The excerpt is entitled 'Ἀρχὴ ὁδύνων καὶ περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ὅπερ μέλλει γενέσθαι. Ἐπιφανίου καὶ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σαλοῦ καὶ μερικὲς διήγησεις, thus containing the apocalyptic section, or parts of it, and some episodes, perhaps the end of the Vita, in Modern Greek.

185. VA is the last text in a collection that originally contained 30 items and of which the first 48 fols. are missing. Of the other texts, Papadopoulos-Kerameus mentions the Life of Paulos of Thebes, a *logos* in Modern Greek on Constantine and Helen and the Passion of St Photina.

186. A. Vladimir, *Sistematicheskoe opisanie rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodalnoj Biblioteki*, I. *Rukopisi grečeskija* (Moscow, 1894), 648f. B.L. Fonkic–F.B. Poljakov, *Grečeskie rukopisi Sinodalnoj Biblioteki* (Moscow, 1993), 140, date the MS in the 16th century, which seems more reasonable. Unfortunately, when I became aware of this date, it was too late to join it to the nos. 30–47, *supra*.

187. The MS contains four excerpts from VA: No. 11, fols. 195–207 'Ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ τὸν λόγον ἀρχὴ ὁδύνων· περὶ Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελείας. *Inc.* Εὐχαρῆσαντος (sic) ποτὲ Ἐπιφανίου ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀνδρέου. No. 12, fols. 207<sup>v</sup>–228<sup>v</sup> Περί τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου καὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. *Inc.* Τότε ἐγερθήσεται ὁ σατανᾶς ὁ ἀντίχριστος, *des.* καὶ ἡ θεοτόκος συναντιλήψεται σου, συμποιμανεῖ τε καὶ ἰθύνει σε. Strictly speaking, these two excerpts are only one excerpt in two parts. No. 13, fols. 229–237<sup>v</sup> Περί Ἰωάννου τοῦ συμμαθητοῦ τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου. *Inc.* Ἐτερος δέ τις νεανίας ὀνόματι Ἰωάννης ἐξηρμάτιζεν προσφιλῆς Ἐπιφανίου, *des.* πρὸ τοῦ ἐκείνους πλησιᾶσαι, ἀσπασάμενος τὸν Ἐπιφάνιον ἀνεχώρησεν. No. 14, fols. 238–344<sup>v</sup> Ἐρώτησις τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἀνδρέαν τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ ἀπόκρισις. *Inc.* Ἐπιφάνιος ἔφη, τίνα εἰσὶν ἃ ὁ προφήτης λέγει· ἡ ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρευνέται ῥῆμα, *des.* καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τόκῳ τὸ ἴδιον ἀργύριον ἐκτινύοντας. The excerpts nos. 11–12 correspond to lines 3805–4336, nos. 13–14 to lines 2203–424 and 3100–397, respectively. The text is expanded and similar to that of the ζ version. The combination of apocalypse, *erotapokrises* and the story of John is reminiscent of nos. 17 (cf. *supra*, note 45), 65 (cf. *supra*, note 163), and 107 (cf. *infra*, note 273). An interesting feature in this MS is that some words and expressions are followed by more or less equivalent words and expressions in Modern Greek, written with red ink. Examples (spelling slightly normalized): ἐξηρμάτιζεν· ἴτον. μαινάς· πόρνη. ἀβάλε· ἀλήμονον. τὴν καχέσπερον· τὴν καταδικασμένην. ἐν ταῖς λαγύραις· εἰς τοὺς κόρφους. εἰώθασιν· συνήθειαν ἔχωσιν. συνεχόμενος· φοβούμενος. φημί· λέγω. ἀναιδεῖς· ἀδιάντροποι. ἀπὸ τοῦ πόντου· ἀπὸ τὴν μαύρην θάλασσαν. ἄτονα· ἀδύνατα. στρέψει· γυρίσει. Some of these explanations are surprisingly wrong, as when ἐὼ γάρ is rendered by θαυμάζω. —I wish to thank Miss Elina Dubrynina of the Historical Museum for letting me inspect this MS in June 1995 and Dr Dmitry Afinogenov for kindly preparing my visit there.

188. The extracts from VA (nos. 11–14) are included in a collection of extracts from the Fathers and edifying διηγήσεις, some of them in Modern Greek.



189. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci*, II, 19–21; Rigo, *Oracula Leonis*, 93–7.

190. Fols. 45<sup>v</sup>–46, corresponding to lines 3805–26 (the beginning of the apocalypse). The last words of the excerpt proper are πάντα δὲ πόλεμον καταπαύσει. The following has been added: ἑβδοματικῶ ἑβδόμῳ χρόνῳ εἰς τέλος τῶν ἰσμηλιτῶν ἀποκαλυφθήσεται. παρακολουθήσει δὲ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ λιβός, καὶ ἔσται ὁ πρῶτος δεύτερος, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος πρῶτος. The same excerpt with the same addition at the end appears in nos. 29 (*supra*, note 78) and 46 (*supra*, note 125).

191. Oracles by Leo VI; prophecies on Crete and Cyprus by Pseudo-Daniel; a prophecy on Crete by Pseudo-Ezechiel; a prophecy on the Eastern Roman Empire under Turkish domination.

192. E. Lamberz–E.K. Litsas, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Βατοπεδινῆς Σκήτης Ἀγίου Δημητρίου* (Thessalonica, 1978), 72–5.

193. Fols. 90–97<sup>v</sup>, corresponding to app. d 217–end.

194. Metaphrastic Life of Abraham and his niece Mary, *BHG* 8; the Life of John Kalybites; pieces by John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Ephrem the Syrian, Dorotheos of Gaza, Theodore of Stoudios, and others.

195. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 254.

196. Fols. 51<sup>v</sup>–52. *Inc.* Ἐρωτηθεὶς δαιμόνιον παρὰ τοῦ τρισμακάρος Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ πόθεν, λέγει, ἐπίστασαι καὶ προλέγεις τινα; ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἔφη· ἀπόπειρός ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ..., corresponding to app. d, lines 161–75.

197. The MS contains 10 items, among them the Lives of John Kalybites, which precedes VA, and Euphrosynos the cook; edifying διηγήσεις from the Gerontikon; the story of Metrios *BHG* 2272; a *logos* εἰς τὸ Πάσχα in Modern Greek.

198. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 32. The MS was written by the priest and monk Gerasimos, cf. *supra*, note 141.

199. *Ibidem*, II, 239. The MS was written on Mount Athos by the priest and monk Ioannes Stergiou.

200. *Ibidem*, 399.

201. For the picture on fol. 10, see below under “Andrew in Art”.

202. VA is the first and largest in a collection of five texts, the other four being the apocalypse of the Theotokos, an *akolouthia* τοῦ μεγάλου Σαββάτου and two astronomical items.

203. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 407. The MS was written by the priest and monk Ioseph.

204. VA is the last and by far the most extensive in a collection of four texts. The other three are an excerpt, or excerpts, from *VNiph* (see Rystencko, *Materialien*, 216ff.; cf. also app. f), the *Testament of Abraham* and a *logos* for the Exaltation of the Cross.

205. Van de Vorst–Delehay, *Catalogus*, 245f.; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 938. Like no. 82 (see *infra*), the MS was written by Apostolos Andristes.

206. The MS presents a Modern Greek version on the basis of β. It omits most of



the *erotapokriseis* (3009–99, 3110–278, 3301–460) and the entire apocalyptic section (3805–4131).

207. VA (fols. 1–77<sup>v</sup>) is the first item in a collection of saints' Lives, sayings of the Fathers and edifying διηγήσεις. The Lives include those of Eupraxia, Xenophon and Aecaterina. Among the διηγήσεις one also finds the story of the nun who feigned that she was mad, corresponding to *HistLaus*, ed. Butler, ch. 34.

208. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 386. Like no. 81 this MS was written by Apostolos Andristes.

209. Lampros does not seem to have noticed that this MS contains large portions of VA. To judge from the chapter headings quoted by him, the excerpts begin 1791 and end before 3804, i. e. before the beginning of the apocalypse. As in no. 81, written by the same scribe, most of the *erotapokriseis* have been omitted—it has only retained 2893–931, it would seem. The chapters on the miserly rich man (2674–706) and the vision of the Virgin at Blachernae (3732–58) are probably also missing.

210. The second half of the MS contains a panegyric of the Virgin's birthday by Andrew of Crete, the *de vita humana* by the Patriarch Christopher of Alexandria, and the abridged Life of Antony the Younger, *BHG* 143. It is not clear whether these texts also were copied by Apostolos Andristes.

211. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 183.

212. As VA is the last item in a collection containing several large texts, one may suspect that it has been condensed (so Murray, *A Study*, 83 [Athous 2121]).

213. The Lives of Spyridon, Philaretos the Merciful, Martinianos, John Kalybites, Euthymios the Great, and Xenophon; the Passions of Eleutherios, bishop of Illyricum, and the Roman Anastasia; *logoi* for Abraham and David.

214. L. Polites, *Συνοπτική ἀναγραφή χειρογράφων Ἑλληνικῶν συλλόγων* (Thessalonica, 1976), 25.

215. Sp.P. Lampros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀνδρόν μονῇ τῆς Ἀγίας κωδίκων* (Athens, 1898), 53f.; Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 950, note 3.

216. Polites, *Συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι*, 61. The MS was written by the monk Hierotheos.

217. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος*, 183.

218. Fols. 1–22, corresponding to lines 2893–3452 (the *erotapokriseis*).

219. As the MS does not contain more than 22 fols. it may originally have been part of a larger codex.

220. Sakkelion, *Κατάλογος*, 228. The MS was written in Bucharest.

221. Πρόρρησις τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου ... περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῆς πόλεως, corresponding to lines 3805–end. Not expanded.

222. VA is the fifth in a collection of six texts. The four preceding VA are apocalyptic: oracles by Leo VI and the Patriarch Tarasios; the apocalypse of Hieronymos Agathangelos (apparently the influential vision written by Theokletos Polyekides in the middle of the 18th century); an interpretation of the Revelation of St John by Anastasios Gordios (d. 1729) according to which Muhammad and the Pope are an-

tichrists. After VA follows a treatise on the buildings of CP, esp. St Sophia and the other churches.

223. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 433f. The MS was written in the Pantokrator monastery on Mount Athos by the monk Ambrosios from Galata.

224. Fols. 166–176 or 176<sup>v</sup> contain a badly spelt excerpt beginning ποτὲ καίρον· ἔλαβεν· ὁ ἀγίος Ἐπιφανῆς· ἥς τον ἦκον αὐτοῦ, corresponding to lines 3805ff. (the apocalyptic section).

225. VA is no. 20 in a collection of 22 visions (among them the Vision of Kosmas), edifying narratives, Lives of saints, excerpts from Lives and apocalypses. The Lives are those of Makarios of Rome, Markos from Athens and *VNiph* (excerpt). The extract from VA is preceded by the Revelation of PsMethodios.

226. Eustratiades–Arcadios, *Catalogue*, 40.

227. Pp. 209–98 or 299 Ἀποκρισις Ἀνδρέα τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ ὅταν ἐρωτήθη παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων χρόνων καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν, corresponding to line 3805–end. *Inc.* Ποτὲ οὖν εὐκαιρήσαντος. The excerpt does not represent the expanded version, although it contains the remark on the sons of Hagar and the ‘fair nation’ typical of ζ.

228. Edifying narratives, among them one from the Life of Antony the Great and one attributed to Makarios of Egypt; letters, *erotapokriseis*, oracles by Leo VI; the Lives of Kyriakos (*BHG* 464?) and John Epirotes, *BHG* 890.

229. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 443f.

230. Fol. 1 Εὐχή τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐπιφανίου (sic) φίλῳ ἀγαπητῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ· ὅπου ἐπαρεκάλεσαν τὸν ἅγιον μάρτυρα Ἀκάκιον ἐν τῷ Ἑπτασκάλῳ καὶ ἐλειτρώθη ἀπὸ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς βδελιρᾶς πορνείας. Ἔλεγε ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον μετὰ δακρύων, corresponding to line 3648ff. Fol. 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>v</sup> or 3 Εὐχή τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἐπιφάνιον καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς δεομένους αὐτόν, probably corresponding to 4338ff.

231. The MS consists of 43 fols. containing prayers by the Patriarch Nephon (15th century) and John of Damascus, hymns by Theodoulos Thikaras (Thomas Magistros) and others, *erotapokriseis* by *idem*, and some other small items. Cf. *infra*, note 252.

232. *Biblioteca Academiei Române. Catalogul Manuscriselor Grecești*, vol. II by N. Camariano (Bucharest, 1940), 6.

233. Fol. 29<sup>v</sup> Χρησμός ἡ προφητεία περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. *Inc.* Ποτὲ οὖν εὐκαιρήσαντος, corresponding to 3805ff. Since the next text begins fol. 30, the excerpt is a very short one, at least in its present state of preservation.

234. The MS consists of 43 fols. containing, in addition to the VA excerpt, the vision of Hieronymos Agathangelos (cf. *supra*, note 222), the Revelation of PsMethodios, oracles by Leo VI, and the *μανιφέστον* τῆς ... αὐτοκρατορίσεως πάσης Ῥωσσίας, Αἰκατερίνα Ἀλεξιεύνα.

235. Polites, *Συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι*, 64.

236. As the copy takes up only 48 pages, VA must have been either abridged or mutilated.



237. To the Life has been added an *akolouthia* written, it would seem, in the 19th century, now mutilated at the beginning.

238. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 310.

239. Fols. 98–110<sup>v</sup> or 111 Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ, which looks like the title of a whole Life, although the size of the copy indicates that it is an excerpt; this would fit the character of the MS, cf. following note. Murray, *A Study*, 83 classes it as a condensed Life.

240. On Melchizedek and Abraham; a eulogy of the Theotokos; the account of the discovery of an icon of the Theotokos on the island of Trikkeri in 1825; the περὶ ἑορτῶν by Ephrem the Syrian; prophecies attributed to the Abbas Moses the Ethiopian (4th century); an edifying episode from the Life of Antony the Great; a eulogy of Gregory of Nazianzus of the Maccabees; an anonymous letter; a document on the organization of a girls' school.

241. Eustratiades–Arcadios, *Catalogue*, 151; Eustratiades, *Συμπλήρωμα*, 6.

242. The MS was written in the Vatopedi monastery by the monk Matthaëos from Ephesos (best known for his familiarity with Byzantine music), who says that he based his copy on two MSS belonging to the Vatopedi library, one short and defective, the other better. These MSS could probably be identified by a closer examination of the Vatopedi MSS than I have been able to do. The title is Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν μαρτίαν ὑποκρινάμενου, συγγραφὴς παρὰ Νικηφόρου ἱερέως τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας σοφίας. The copy does not represent the expanded ζ version, although at the beginning of the apocalypse it has the remark on the sons of Hagar and the 'fair nation' typical of ζ.

Fol. 110<sup>v</sup> contains the following *apolytikion*, *kontakion* and *megalyrnarion*, written in March 1846 by the ὁσιοδιδάσκαλος Jacob in the Skete of Demetrios belonging to the Vatopedi monastery; for the complete *akolouthia*, see the edition of Augoustinos Monachos (cf. *infra*, "Editions", no. 3) 205–13.

Ἀπολυτίκιον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου, ἥχος τέταρτος· ταχὺ προκατάλαβε ...

Μαρτίαν ἐκούσιον διὰ Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν  
ἐπόθησας, ὅσιε, τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀληθῶς  
κακίας μειούμενος, μέσον πολλῶν θορύ-  
βων τὸν ἀγῶνα τελέσας, ὅθεν σε ὁ δεσπότης  
παραδείσου πρὸς πλάτος ἐσκήνωσεν,  
Ἀνδρέα, διό σε γεραίρομεν.

Κοντάκιον, ἥχος τρίτος· τὴν ὡραιότητα ...

Σταυρὸν ἐπ' ὧμων σου ἀναλαβόμενος  
προθύμως, ὅσιε, κατηκολούθησας  
τῷ ποθουμένῳ σοι Χριστῷ, Ἀνδρέα, παροινού-  
μενος λίθοις τε βαλλόμενος, δαιμονῶν  
προσποιούμενος, ζήσας ὥς τις ἄσαρκος,  
μάκαρ, βίον ἰσάγγελον· διὸ καὶ σὺν ἀγγέλοις  
χορεύων μέμνησο, πάτερ, τῶν τιμώντων σε.



Μεγαλυνάριον τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Σου ἡ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον βιωτὴ ἐξέπληξε  
νόας καὶ δαιμόνων τοὺς ζοφερούς· πῶς γυμνός,  
Ἄνδρέα, ὡς ἐξηχος τὸν τρόπον λαθῶν  
ἐπολιτεύσω· ἡμῶν μνημόνευε.

243. Eustratiades–Arcadios, *Catalogue*, 151; Eustratiades, *Συμπλήρωμα*, 26.

244. The MS was written by a certain Jacob, who says that he finished his work in October 1872 in the Vatopedi monastery. He apologizes for his bad spelling, saying that he is ἄμοιρος γραμμάτων ἑλληνικῶν and that, moreover, his model is ἀνορθόγραφος. Title and text are very like those of no. 95; even the poems of the ὁσιοδιδάσκαλος Jacob have been copied.

245. According to Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, III, 950, note 3, this MS should contain VA, but VA was not to be found in the microfilm I examined at the Patriarchal Institute in Thessalonica.

246. Polites, *Συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι*, 89. Written by Kyrillos Hagiannanites.

247. Eustratiades–Arcadios, *Catalogue*, 45.

248. Fols. 15–154<sup>v</sup> contain three excerpts from VA: the beginning including the vision of heaven; the *erotapokriseis*; the last part from the apocalypse on, with app. d. *Inc.* Βίον τινὸς ἐναρέτου ἀνδρός, ὃ φιλακροάμονες, μέλλοντός μου διηγῆσασθαι.

249. A eulogy of St Nikolaos; Anastasios of Antioch on the soul as an image of God; prayers by John Chrysostom; the Acts of St John by Pseudo-Prochoros; the deposition of the Virgin's girdle.

250. Eustratiades–Arcadios, *Catalogue*, 78.

251. Fols. 188–204 Ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ ... σαλοῦ.

252. Ten items, mainly consisting of prayers and hymns. The collection is not unlike that of no. 91 (*supra*, note 231).

253. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 347f.

254. Title, Βίος ἐνθεος καὶ ἥρωικὰ παλαίσματα τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ, ἀγωνισαμένου ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων. *Inc.* Βίον θεάρεστον καὶ πολιτείαν ἄμempton βούλομαι, ὃ φίλτατοι ... The paraphrase was made by the Athonite monk Jacob, "so that he might have the protection of the divine Fathers Andrew and Basil" (i.e. Basil the Younger, whose Life he also paraphrased). In cod. Vatopediou 816 (a. 1848), pp. 26–42, there is a διήγησις θαυμάσιος μετ' ἐγκωμίου εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Σκέπην ἣν εἶδεν ὁ ὁσιος Ἀνδρέας, ὁ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλός (cf. 3732ff.), that may have been written by the same Jacob; cf. Eustratiades–Arcadios, *Catalogue*, 158. For the picture on p. 4, see below.

255. *VBasilun*, also in Modern Greek.

256. Lampros, *Catalogue*, I, 50.

257. Fols. 1–9<sup>v</sup> or 10 Βίος καὶ πολιτεία Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ.

258. Eleven items, mainly homiletic and exegetical texts.

259. Lampros, *Catalogue*, II, 408f.

260. Fols. 81–84<sup>v</sup> or 85 προφητεῖαι τοῦ ... Ἀνδρέου τοῦ ... σαλοῦ, probably containing only part of the apocalyptic section.

261. The excerpt from VA is no. 16 in a collection of 22 mainly apocalyptic texts contained in a MS of 154 fols. It is preceded by the Revelation of PsMethodios and followed by oracles attributed to the Patriarch Tarasios.

262. Polites, *Συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι*, 78.

263. Ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ (29 pp.).

264. The excerpt from VA follows upon a copy in 667 pp. of the Life of Neilos Athonites (d. 1651) and precedes the Miracles of the same Saint.

265. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, V (1915), 386. Written by the monk and priest Loukas. Τεύχος χάρτινον νέον. No date suggested.

266. Pp. 1–68 Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σαλοῦ. *Inc.* Βίον θεάρεστον. P. 107f. Εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἐπιφάνιον, perhaps corresponding to lines 4338ff.

267. Pp. 70–84 Μαθήματα νέα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς; p. 109 Εὐχὴ τοῦ μεγάλου Παΐσιου τοῦ θεράποντος αὐτοῦ (= εἰς τὸν θεράποντα αὐτοῦ ?); pp. 110–34 Εὐχαὶ διάφοροι.

268. I owe my information on this MS, which I have not seen, to Professor John Wortley, who in turn refers to a monk called James Williams. According to this source, the MS was written in 1873 by the monk Polykarpos in the monastery ἡ Φανερωμένη on the island of Naxos. It consists of 160 quarto pages and seems to contain a condensed version in Byzantine Greek. In 1967 it belonged to a nun in the convent of Christ τοῦ Δάσους on the island of Paros. I do not know whether the MS still remains on Paros.

269. Miller, *Catalogue*, 296–304. Miller dates the MS to the beginning of the 14th century.

270. Fol. 343 contains an excerpt from the *erotapokriseis* corresponding to lines 3246–70.

271. The codex contains a great number of excerpts, mainly from ancient Greek literature. The VA excerpt is located between two excerpts from Synesios.

272. J. Sakkelion, *Πατριακὴ βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens, 1890), 265f. I wish to thank Madame Astruc at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, for calling my attention to this MS.

273. The first two folios contain excerpts with considerable variants from the *erotapokriseis* corresponding to lines 3121–30, 3147–73, 3199–225, 3131–45 (in this order), beginning Καὶ αὐτὸ βροντῶν (3121) and ending κεφάλαιον δὲ τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν, ὁ θεολόγος (3145). Fols. 151–185 contain further excerpts under the title Ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ, corresponding to lines 2203–424 (the story of Epiphanius' wicked schoolfellow John), 2932–3420 (the *erotapokriseis* with omissions, partly covered by the excerpts in fols. 1–2), and 3805–4329 (the apocalypse with the heading Περὶ συντελείας καὶ ἀρχῇ ὠδίνων plus the following conversations between Andrew and Epiphanius up to κλῆρος



σου 4329, although with some omissions, e.g. 4265–72). For the choice of excerpts, cf. *supra*, note 187.

274. Seventeen λόγοι by John Chrysostom interspersed with about the same number of pieces such as the Life of Adam and Eve, the Life of Alexios, the man of God, a vision of Daniel, legendary texts on the Theotokos, the discovery of the True Cross and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos, excerpts from Athanasios, Ephrem the Syrian, Anastasios Sinaïtes, the Physiologos, etc.

275. G.K. Papazoglou, “Συμπληρωματικὸς κατάλογος χειρογράφων Μονῆς Διονυσίου Ἀγίου Ὁρους (Συνοπτικὴ ἀναγραφή, χφφ. ἄρ. 805–1064),” *Theologia*, 61 (1990), 443–505, esp. 485.

276. *Ibidem*.

277. See Ch. Diehl, “Le trésor et la bibliothèque de Patmos au commencement du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *BZ* 1 (1892), 488–525, esp. 524. It is possible, although unlikely, that it should be identified with one of the MSS mentioned at the beginning of this list.

278. Miller, *Catalogue*, 385. The MS was probably destroyed by fire in 1671. Miller bases his information on a hand-written catalogue drawn up c. 1600 by Nicolas de Torre.

279. The apocalypse.

280. According to Miller, i.e. Nicolas de Torre, the MS contained the following: “Vie de l’empereur Constantin. — Sur l’image in *Chalcoprato*. — Extraits d’historiens et principalement de la lettre à l’empereur Théophile sur l’adoration des images. — Sur le puits sacré de l’Église. — Sur le char sacré à Constantinople. — Extraits de la vie de saint Silvestre. — Περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Πιτρῷ Ἀγαρηνοῦ, sur les saintes images (this looks like two different texts). — Apocalypse d’André Salus. — Sur la foudre, le tonnerre, etc. ... — Διάλυσις de la divine liturgie. — Questions et réponses théologiques. — Questions ecclésiastiques de saint Basile à saint Grégoire; incomplet.” Possibly not only the apocalypse but also some of the following material derive from VA.

281. Miller, *Catalogue*, 386.

282. In case a MS is dated by the catalogue to alternative centuries it is here assigned to the last of these. As no. 73 has been redated from the 17th to the 16th century, 23 MSS have been assigned to the 16th century and 35 to the 17th.

283. Cf. the large number of copies of *VPhilar* dated to the 17th century in the catalogue of Lampros, see Fourmy–Leroy, 88.

284. As far as I can see, the Life of St John the Merciful is missing in the VA MSS, although it was well known and often copied.

285. See *VBasIun*, fol. 45, ed. Vilinskij, 311,30–3.

286. Cf. B. Knös, *L’histoire de la littérature néo-grecque. La période jusqu’en 1821* (Stockholm, 1962), 481f.

287. Cf. *ibidem*, 461.

288. The background of this manifest seems to have been Russian plans for establishing a Greek state. It is remarkable that the apocalypse of Andrew the Fool appears together with this document in a MS written at Bucharest in 1799.



# Editions

## Whole Life

1. VA was first edited in the AASS, May VI (Antwerp, 1688), 4\*–111\*, by the Bollandist C. Janning (1650–1723), who provided the *editio princeps* with an introduction, notes and a Latin translation. Basing his text mainly on no. 3 (D) he also used no. 7 (F), which he called Mazarinianus. As neither of these MSS represents the original version, this edition, which through reprints (see below) has been in use for more than 300 years, does not do justice to Nikephoros' work.

2. The *editio princeps* was reprinted in later editions of the AASS (Venice, 1734–70; Paris, 1863–70) and in PG, vol. 111 (Paris, 1863), cols. 628–888.

3. An edition of VA based on a Sinai MS by Augoustinos Polyetopoulos appeared in Athens 1911. Not having access to this publication I have inspected a reprint which appeared in Jerusalem the following year. The editor here presents himself as the monk Augoustinos. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ, συγγραφεὶς παρὰ Νικηφόρου ἱερέως τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἐπωνύμου τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας. Ἐκ Σιναϊτικοῦ χειρογράφου ιζ'. αἰῶνος, ἀντιπαραβληθὲν καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον ιη'. αἰῶνος, μετὰ ἑορτασίου ἀκολουθίας τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀνδρέου, ληφθείσης ἐπίσης ἐκ χειρογράφου, καὶ προλόγου πραγματευομένου καθόλου περὶ σαλότητος νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδίδονται ὑπὸ Ἀυγουστίνου Μοναχοῦ (Ἰορδανίτου) (Jerusalem, 1912).<sup>1</sup> In his preface, p. 17, Augoustinos says that the Sinai MS mentioned in the title has the no. 543, thus being identical with the MS here called V (no. 57). As V is a faithful copy of β up to line 2135, one would expect the first half of Augoustinos' edition to contain a rather reliable text. In fact, however, it often differs from V in a way that is strongly reminiscent of PG. Thus the 18th-century MS which the editor mentions in the title but fails to identify seems to have been closely related to D; he may even have used PG itself, to which he had access. After line 2135, where V

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Petit, *Bibliographie*, 8f.

not only begins to follow an expanded version but also becomes contaminated and distorts the text with individual readings, Augoustinos makes things still worse by continuing to insert variant readings from the anonymous MS (or from PG). He says that the *akolouthia* with which he provides his edition was written in 1846 by a monk called Jacob (p. 213, *infra*) evidently identical with the Athonite poet mentioned in MS no. 95, see *supra*, “Manuscripts”, note 242.

4. In 1961 an edition based on the MS Athos, Dionysiou 230 (no. 59 in my list) was published at Volos by S.N. Schoinas. Title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ καὶ τινῶν θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ διήγησις. The title differs somewhat from that of the MS, which runs: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ. Cf. *supra*, “Manuscripts”, note 148.

## Excerpts

1859–2124 ed. in Murray, *A Study*, 85–106, on the basis of the MSS A and B; in the app. crit. also the variant readings of CDE are accounted for, and under the app. crit. the version of F is fully reproduced. *Ibidem*, 112–19, the end of VA is reproduced according to E.

3174–201. In an article on Elijah as a continuator of Zeus and Helios called “Δημῳδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι”, *Parnassos*, 4 (1880), 585–608, esp. 591f., N. Polites quotes this passage. His source was the newspaper Σμύρνη, in which on August 6th, 1871, one Dionysios Charikles had published excerpts from a MS in the monastery τοῦ Λειμῶνος. Whether this MS is identical with any of the two MSS belonging to this monastery mentioned in my list (nos. 30 and 32) I am unable to tell.

3732–58 ed. with notes and English translation in Rydén, “Vision of the Virgin”, 64–7 on the same manuscript basis as the present edition.

3823–4036 ed. in Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, 50–8 on the basis of no. 43 in my list.

3805–4131 ed. with notes and English translation in Rydén, “Andreas Salos Apocalypse”, 201–14 on the same manuscript basis as the present edition, although with a slightly different evaluation of the variant readings.



## Paraphrases

K. Doukakes, *Μέγας συναξαριστής* for the month of May (Athens, 1892),<sup>1</sup> 479–93 contains a partial paraphrase of VA in Modern Greek. In principle the paraphrase covers the first third part of VA, the last episode included being the miraculous opening of the church door (1291–346), whence it immediately passes over to Epiphanius' last conversation with Andrew and the end of the Vita (4318–400). However, it also omits a number of passages before 1346, among them 807–73 (Epiphanius' disputation with the philosophers), 922–1099 (the cooking of the bean-soup; the eunuch) and 1119–290 (Andrew speaking in parables to Epiphanius' servants; mortifications). On the other hand, between the winter storm and Andrew's visit to paradise and heaven (422–737) and the story of the devil in the disguise of an old woman (752–92) it inserts the vision of the Mother of God at Blachernae (3732–58). Thus in this publication three of the most characteristic elements of the Vita are missing, namely the *erotapokriseis*, the apocalypse and the stories of Epiphanius' wicked friends. One notices that in the passage corresponding to 889 Ἀγαρηνός is rendered by Τοῦρκος.

According to Evelyne Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde", 220, a paraphrase of VA is contained in the *Καλοκαιρινή*, a collection of saints' Lives from March through August compiled by the prolific Cretan monk Agapios Landos and first published in 1656.<sup>2</sup> However, as far as I can see, É. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ... XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1894), no. 418, to which M<sup>me</sup> Patlagean refers, does not mention VA. Nor do the two copies of the *Καλοκαιρινή* that I have seen include a paraphrase of VA, although they do contain one of *VSymSal*. In a letter, Dr. Despoina Kostoula, author of a dissertation on Agapios Landos,<sup>3</sup> confirms that VA appears neither in the *Καλοκαιρινή* nor in Landos' other printed *hagiographica* (as the *Παράδεισος* of 1641 and the *Ἐκλόγιον* of 1644). Nor can I find VA in the manuscript of the *Καλοκαιρινή* described by Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη*, II, 590f. Yet in the same catalogue, p. 394,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Petit, *Bibliographie*, XXIII f.

<sup>2</sup> See Petit, *op. cit.*, XVII.

<sup>3</sup> Despoina D. Kostoula, *Αγάπιος Λάνδος ὁ Κρης* [Ἐρευνες στη νέα Ελληνική φιλολογία, 6] (Ioannina, 1983).



Papadopoulos-Kerameus says that a Sabaite monk called Ioannikios supplemented the missing first fols. of VA in MS no. 9 in my list with the help of Agapios' paraphrase. The supplement begins with an almost exact copy of the prologue according to  $\beta$ , and the beginning of the narrative proper also is very like  $\beta$ . A more or less Modern Greek and very free paraphrase begins, however, at a point corresponding to line 13: ... εἶχεν, ὁμῶς πάλιν ἀγόρασε καὶ ἑτέρους, καὶ τοὺς ἐξεσκλάβοναين ὡς φιλόχριστος· ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐοίους ἦτον καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῆς συντελείας μου νῦν ὀνομαζόμενος, λέγω Ἀνδρέας, ὃς ἔγινεν διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν θεληματικός του σαλός, φανερά εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, πλὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἦτον νουνεχῆς καὶ φρονιμότητος· ὡς καθὼς θέλετε τὸ ἀκούση ὅσοι μετὰ εὐλαβείας ἀκροάσεσθε τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ τὸ γένος Σκύθης etc. I do not know why Papadopoulos-Kerameus says that this represents a paraphrase of VA by Agapios Landos, who seems to have been much more careful and consistent. I would rather guess that this version was made by Ioannikios himself as he supplemented the missing fols. of the Sabaite MS. At any rate it is not comparable to Agapios Landos' paraphrase of *VSymSal*.

Nor is VA summarized in the *Συναξαριστῆς τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* by Nikodemos Hagiorites (Constantinople, 1845). It is mentioned, however, in the tenth volume, where Nikodemos adds in a note that VA is a very long text, that it contains many prophecies, that it has not yet been printed, perhaps, "as some say," because it contains μερικὰ πράγματα δυσπαράδεκτα, although it may be found in Iviron and other monasteries (p. 117, note 3). Evidently, he did not know about the Bollandist edition.

# Translations

1. The oldest translation of VA into a foreign language<sup>1</sup> is the one into Georgian, which is already mentioned in two Georgian documents of the year 1040.<sup>2</sup> The translation itself appears for the first time in a MS dated to the 11th–12th century.<sup>3</sup> Among the later MSS there is a fragment dated to the 13th–14th century and quite a number of 19th-century copies, of which two are now in the Bodleian Library.<sup>4</sup> A printed edition prepared by the priest V. Karbelašvili appeared in 1906.<sup>5</sup> As it was intended for the general public it is neither provided with a scholarly introduction nor with an apparatus criticus, although it is said to be based on five different MSS. According to M<sup>me</sup> Metreveli and Dr Barrett there is no reason to believe that VA was translated into Georgian more than once. Most probably the translation was made by a Georgian monk on Mount Athos, where the monastery of Iviron (=the Georgians) had been founded in the latter half of the 10th century. Euthymios, the son of the founder of the monastery and its second hegumenos (d. 1028) knew Greek well and became famous for his many Georgian translations of Greek texts. According to some, VA was translated by Euthymios himself.<sup>6</sup> However that may be—VA does not figure in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Translations into Modern Greek are disregarded in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> T. Zordania, *Chronicles and Other Material for the History and Literature of Georgia* (in Georgian), I (Tbilisi, 1892), 183; II (Tbilisi, 1897), 32. I thank Professor S. Gero, Tübingen, for having pointed out the Georgian translation to me. I also thank Dr J.N. Birdsall, Birmingham, Dr D. Barrett of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Professor Elène Metreveli, Director of the Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, Tbilisi, for having given me an idea of its character and history.

<sup>3</sup> K. Kekelidze, *Description des manuscrits géorgiens du Musée d'État de Géorgie. Manuscrits de l'ancien Musée Géorgien de la Société d'histoire et d'ethnographie*, 3 (Tbilisi, 1948), 291 (in Georgian).

<sup>4</sup> D. Barrett, *Catalogue of the Wardrop Collection and of Other Georgian Books and Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1973), 342f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, 186.

<sup>6</sup> G. Peradze, "Die altchristliche Literatur in der georgischen Überlieferung", *OrChr*, 3:8 (1933), 185; P.M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, ST, 185 (1955), 332f., with reference to a remark by N. Marr. Also K. Kekelidze, *Études d'histoire de la littérature géorgienne*, 5 (Tbilisi, 1957), 104, at first assumed that VA was translated by Euthymios; later, however, he changed his mind and suggested that the translation was made by one of Euthymios' fellow monks.



contemporary list of Euthymios' translations<sup>7</sup>—it appears from information kindly given to me by the two scholars just mentioned that the translator used an expanded Greek version of the kind represented by ζ and, with variants, by E. This in turn shows that the long version of VA existed as early as the beginning of the 11th century. This is an interesting piece of information which the Greek material alone does not yield. Possibly the long version itself also originates from Mount Athos.

2. A Slavonic translation of VA is contained in the first October<sup>8</sup> volume of the *Velikiya Minei Chetii* compiled by Makarios, Metropolitan of Moscow (d. 1563). To judge from the edition available to me (St Petersburg, 1870, 80–237) the translation is based on a MS closely related to E. Like E, it omits the words τοῦτο ... ἐτελεύτησεν line 433; instead it renders the sentence εἰκάζον γάρ, ἐκ παντὸς τετελεύτηκεν, which E inserts after πνεύματι line 437; it also renders E's rather long addition after ἀγωνιζόμενος line 740 and the title περὶ ἡλίου ἐρμηνεία d 22 (not mentioned in the app. crit.). As might be expected, it does not have lacunas corresponding to the missing fols. in E; the loss of these fols. is probably late. More revealing is the fact that it omits the passage 4284–317, which is in E, as well as much (but not all) of the additional material d 1ff., whereas, on the other hand, it renders the phrase ἐν ἐκστάσει γεναμένη 3564, which is in ζD and also in P, which in this section is related to E, but missing in βE. It appears, therefore, that the translation printed in the *Minei* was made from a MS close to E rather than from E itself. Whether the abridgments were made by the translator himself or whether they had already been made in his Greek MS is hard to tell on the basis of the material at hand.

In a letter Dr A. Moldovan, who is preparing a critical edition of the Slavonic translation of VA, kindly confirms that the translation is based on the Greek version now represented by E. Since it forms the basis for relevant chapters in the so-called Prolog, which Dr Moldovan dates to the first half of the 12th century, he further thinks that the translation was made toward the end of the 11th century, at the latest;<sup>9</sup> as its place of origin he suggests the East-Slavonic area. He also notes that a second translation was made in

<sup>7</sup> See P. Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes. I. Vie des SS. Jean et Euthyme", *AB*, 36–37 (1917–19), 8–68, esp. 34–6; D.M. Lang, *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints* (London, 1956), 161f.

<sup>8</sup> In Russia Andrew was celebrated on October 2, the day after the feast of Pokrov.

<sup>9</sup> Similarly N.K. Gudzij, *Geschichte der russischen Literatur (11.–17. Jh.)* (Halle, 1959), 40, maintains that manuscripts containing the translation of VA were available in Rus' already in the 11th and 12th centuries.



the 14th century or earlier. This translation, which he regards as South Slavonic, is closer to the text published by Janning on the basis of D.<sup>10</sup> In addition there are independent South-Slavonic translations of separate chapters of VA, among them the apocalypse.

Although there is no strict proof that VA was translated into Slavonic as early as the 11th century, it is clear that a translation existed in the following century, when Andrey Bogolyubsky (1157–74), inspired by VA 3732–58, established the feast of Pokrov at Vladimir.<sup>11</sup> As to the place of origin one might perhaps also consider the Stoudios monastery, where Slavic monks are said to have settled already at the beginning of the 12th century, or Mount Athos, where Russians had settled even earlier.<sup>12</sup> We have seen that the Slavonic translation was based on a Greek MS not unlike the source of the Georgian version, which almost certainly derives from the Holy Mountain.<sup>13</sup>

In any case, the Slavonic translation of VA met with great success, as demonstrated by the feast of Pokrov, the *Prolog*, the *Minei* and the great number of old Slavonic MSS preserved (more than 200, according to Dr Moldovan). As Andrew is presented as a Scythian (line 14f.), the Russians had good reason to regard him as their fellow-countryman.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, it would seem that at first they were more impressed by single episodes in the Vita than by the holy man himself, for they did not celebrate his memory on 28 May, the day of his death according to Nikephoros, but on 2 October, the day after the feast of Pokrov. The eschatological part also appealed to them.<sup>15</sup> As time went on, however, Andrew, being one of the two main prototypes of the holy fool, became an important person in his own right.

<sup>10</sup> I do not know whether this translation is identical with the one included in the Serbian florilegium Khludov no. 238, to which Professor F.J. Thomson, Antwerp, draws my attention; this florilegium dates from 1581, see A.N. Popov, *Opisanie rukopisi ... A.I. Chludova* (Moscow, 1872), 478–80.

<sup>11</sup> See Rydén, "Vision of the Virgin", with further references, and Ellen S. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogolyubskij: the Man and the Myth* [Studia Historica et Philologica, XII, Sectio Slavica, 4] (Florence, 1980), 73. Cf. also Irène Sorlin, "La diffusion et la transmission de la littérature chronographique byzantine en Russie pré-mongole du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *TM*, 5 (1973), 385–408, esp. 386f.

<sup>12</sup> See, on the one hand, C. Hannick, *Maximos Holobolos in der kirchenslavischen homiletischen Literatur* (Vienna, 1981), 52, and, on the other, *Archives de l'Athos*, XII, *Actes de Saint-Pantéléémon*, ed. by P. Lemerle, G. Dagron, S. Ćirković. *Texte* (Paris, 1982), 3ff. I thank Prof. Hannick for drawing my attention to the former alternative.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F.J. Thomson's sceptical remarks concerning the supposedly Kievan origin of many Slavonic translations of Greek texts in *Slavica Gandensia*, 15 (1988), 69.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. G.P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 316.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, 317.

According to Fedotov,<sup>16</sup> holy fools first appeared in Russia in the 14th century and reached their largest number in the 16th. Between the 14th and 17th century 36 Russian holy fools were canonized. Then canonization ceased, although holy fools continued to appear until this century. In general, the Russian holy fools seem to have followed the example of Andrew rather than that of Symeon Salos, showing disrespect for the powerful and being prone to prophesy like the former but behaving with less indecency than the latter.<sup>17</sup>

3. An *Italian* translation of the beginning of the expanded version of the apocalypse, corresponding to lines 3805–26, is contained in MS no. 46 (16th century), see *supra* under “Manuscripts”, note 125.

4. A *Latin* translation by C. Janning accompanied the *editio princeps*, AASS, May VI (Antwerp, 1688), 4\*–111\*, reprinted in PG 111, cols. 627–887.

5. *English* translations of 3732–58 (the vision of the Virgin at Blachernae) and 3505–4131 (the apocalypse) were published by the present writer in *AB*, 94 (1976), 66f., and *DOP*, 28 (1974), 215–25, respectively; cf. *supra* under “Editions”. A reliable and elegant summary of the latter passage may be found in Mango, *Byzantium*, 208–10.

6. Recently a *modern Italian* translation based on my manuscript was published by P. Cesaretti in *Leonzio di Neapoli, Niceforo prete di Santa Sofia, I Santi Folli di Bisanzio. Vite di Simeone e Andrea*. A cura di P. Cesaretti. Introduzione di L. Rydén (Milan, 1990), 99–257.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, 316.

<sup>17</sup> According to Beck, *Kirche*, 568, a Russian translation of VA was published in 1897 (read 1879) by J. Sreznevskij. This must be a mistake, however, for in the publication mentioned one only finds a remark on Andrew the Fool, excerpts from the *Prolog*, a list of Russian words, believed to show that the translation was made in Russia, and a description of some MSS containing the Slavonic translation of VA.



## The Life of Andrew and the Life of Niphon

As mentioned above in the discussion of the date of composition, *VA* is closely related to *VBasIun*, written toward the end of the reign of Constantine VII, or possibly a little later. Together with *VNiph*, often mentioned in the notes to my translation of *VA*, these Lives constitute a separate group of long, fictitious hagiographic compositions, written at CP in similar Byzantine Greek and displaying the same fascination with apocalyptic questions and other arcane matters. Of these *VBasIun* is too independent and too close in time to be quoted as an example of *VA*'s *Nachleben*; it is not even certain that it is later than *VA*, although this seems likely.<sup>1</sup> *VNiph*, however, was probably written a few decades after these Lives and appears to contain material borrowed from *VA*.<sup>2</sup> The following three episodes are particularly indicative of this. Once Niphon was told by a friend that he looked like an Ethiopian because of his sins. Repentant, he got up at night to pray, but the devil, who did not want to lose a follower, tried to prevent him, saying, Ἐὰν ἄρα ἀναστῇς τῇ νυκτὶ ποιῆσαι εὐχὴν, ἔστιν ὅτι δαίμονα ἔχεις πιάσαι, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἔχεις εἶναι ἑξήχος καὶ δαιμονιῶν. Surrounding Niphon with darkness he managed to scare him back to his bed (12,4–25). Compare *VA* 34–40 and note that the devil threatens to make Niphon mad. Shortly after, the Mother of God, assisted by St Anastasia, cured Niphon from illness and made him ready for his fight with the demons (15,12–17,3). Compare *VA* 113–29, where St Anastasia supports Andrew in a similar scene. The third episode is about a young man, 18 years old, who suffered from cold and hunger during an extremely bad winter. At last a certain Nikephoros took him to his house, trying to revive him. Unfortunately it was too late, and after two weeks he died. The next episode features a man called Theognostos. Compare *VA* 422ff.: like the young man in *VNiph*, Epiphanius is 18 years old; after a winter storm that lasted two weeks during which Nikephoros feared for Andrew's life, Andrew unexpectedly came to see Nikephoros, who celebrated his survival by making arrangements for a meal; the Theognostos of *VNiph* carries the same name

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rydén, "Basil the Younger", 586.

<sup>2</sup> The date of composition is discussed in Rydén, "Niphon", where I have also anticipated some of the following remarks.



as the man who was Andrew's master before Andrew became a fool. To my mind, these coincidences indicate that the author of *VNiph* knew *VA* and borrowed certain elements from it.<sup>3</sup> Rather than plagiarizing, however, he used them freely and in his own way, just as Nikephoros borrowed details from earlier texts, reusing them for his own purposes and in his own way. Thus *VNiph* is the first reasonably certain indication of *VA*'s literary influence.

It should be borne in mind, however, that most of the similarities pointed out in the notes to the translation (see for instance lines 518–46 with note 4) are likely to be due to common sources rather than to direct influence. It should also be remembered that Andrew himself is not mentioned in *VNiph*, nor is Niphon behaving like a holy fool.

---

<sup>3</sup> Note that MS no. 16 (S) contains a borrowing in the opposite direction, namely from *VNiph* 58,26–59,19 (the *erotapokrisis* concerning the salvation of Solomon) to a copy of *VA*, see app.f. Evidently the copyist regarded the two Lives as closely related.

# References to Andrew in other Medieval Texts

The material collected in the following, in which Andrew is mentioned by name, lays no claim to completeness. In particular, Russian hagiography is likely to contain many more references to Andrew than the one quoted here. The Greek evidence, as far as I know it, follows the expected pattern of monastic appreciation contrasting with the official condemnation or neglect of the Church.

1. Nikon of the Black Mountain (c. 1025–c. 1100), *Pandektai*, PG 106, 1372B καὶ ὅτι τοὺς τὸ μωρὸν κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Συμεὼν, καὶ Ἀνδρέαν ἐπιτηδεύοντας, οἱ θεῖοι νόμοι ἀποδοκιμάζουσι, καὶ παντάπασιν νῦν τὰ τοιαῦτα κωλύουσιν. Cf. canon 60 of the Quinisext Council (692): τοὺς τοίνυν δαιμονῶν ὑποκρινομένους, καὶ τρόπων φαυλότητι προσποιητῶς τὰ ἐκείνων σχηματιζομένους, ἔδοξε τρόπῳ ἐπιτιμᾶσθαι παντί, καὶ τοιαύταις αὐτοὺς σκληραγωγίαις, καὶ πόνοις ὑποβάλλειν, οἷς ἂν οἱ ἀληθῶς δαιμονῶντες πρὸς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς τοῦ δαίμονος ἐνεργείας, ἀξίως ὑποβάλλοιντο.<sup>1</sup> Balsamon (second half of the 12th century), commenting on this canon,<sup>2</sup> says that various patriarchs had followed it, sending to jail many who had been sitting in chains in the church of the Martyr Niketas<sup>3</sup> as well as others who had been roaming the streets, pretending to be afflicted by demons. Yet, to judge from the writings of Symeon the New Theologian<sup>4</sup> and Kekaumenos<sup>5</sup> and other texts,<sup>6</sup> the law was not enforced strictly; Balsamon himself says that he could still see many such people walk about in the cities, adding that instead of being punished they were sometimes treated as saints.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rhalles–Potles, *Syntagma*, II, 440f., also in PG, 137, col. 716C–D; cf. Symeon Metaphrastes, *Epitome canonum*, canon 50, PG, 114, col. 289A εἴ τις ὑποκρίνεται δαιμονῶν, τὰ τῶν δαιμονίων ἐπιτίμια ὑποστήσεται.

<sup>2</sup> Rhalles–Potles, *Syntagma*, II, 442; PG, 137, col. 718B.

<sup>3</sup> Janin, *Églises*, 367.

<sup>4</sup> SymNT, *Catéchèses*, ed. Krivochéine, III, 156–8.

<sup>5</sup> *Strategicon*, ed. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972), 246, 13–23 (ed. Wassiliewsky–Jernstedt [repr. Amsterdam, 1965], 63, 18–28); tr. H.-G. Beck, *Vademecum des byzantinischen Aristokraten* (Graz, 1964), 111f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Rydén, “Holy Fool”, 111.

<sup>7</sup> Rhalles–Potles, *Syntagma*, II, 441; PG, 137, col. 717A. For Balsamon’s own attitude towards ascetic saints, see P. Magdalino, “The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century,” in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint* (London, 1981), 51–66, esp. 59f.

2. Neophytos Enkleistos (1134–after 1214), *Laudatio S. Gennadii archiep. CP*, ed. H. Delehay, *AB*, 26 (1907), 221–8, esp. 221,29–222,1 ἤκμασε δὲ πρὸς τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος τοῦ μεγάλου, τοῦ καλουμένου Μακέλλη, ὀπηγνίκα καὶ Δανιήλ ὁ πανόσιος ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλῳ αἰθέριος ἵστατο ἐν τῷ στύλῳ καὶ ὡς πύκτης πυκτεύων κατὰ παθῶν καὶ δαιμόνων, καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Ἀνδρέας ὁ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλός, ἐκούσιος ἐξηχος ἐγνωρίζετο, παίζων καὶ παιζόμενος, ὡς τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μάταια παίγνια λογιζόμενος. Thus Neophytos uses Daniel the Stylite (d. 493) and Andrew the Fool to give his audience an idea of the times of the Patriarch Gennadios I (458–71). This should be compared to the fact that, for his part, Nikephoros does not mention Gennadios, although he has Daniel figure in one episode and also mentions the Emperor Leo I three times. And not only did Neophytos refer to Andrew in his writings, he even had his portrait on one of the walls of his hermitage on Cyprus (see *infra*). He obviously held him in high regard, although he does not seem to have written an encomium on him.

3. *SynaxCP*, ed. Delehay, 714,53 (cod. Mc = Paris. Coislin 223, written 1300/1301 on Mount Athos) Ἀνδρέας ὁ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλὸς ἐν εἰρήνῃ τελειοῦται (May 28th). The same MS contains the distich Παυλοῦ τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ μεταστὰς Ἀνδρέας, / Ἡμεῖς διὰ Χριστόν γε μωροί, κραυγάζει, quoted in PG, 111, col. 625.

4. An apocalyptic treatise published by A. Pertusi and dated by him to the late 13th or first half of the 14th century contains at least two passages based on the apocalyptic part of VA, although details differ from the version edited here.<sup>8</sup> Thus lines 331–47 correspond to VA 3921–56 and lines 371–7 to VA 3960–88. Later on Andrew is mentioned by name together with PsMethodios in the sentence Περὶ τούτου γράφει ὁ τῶν Πατέρων ἐπίσκοπος καὶ θεῖος ἱερομάρτυς Μεθόδιος καὶ Ἀνδρέας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὅτι ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας κατελθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ οἰκήσει ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύων ἐνιαυτοὺς ια' (lines 515–17). Note, however, that according to VA it is not the emperor from Ethiopia who goes to Jerusalem but his Arabic successor.

5. Theophanes of Vatopedi (late 14th century), *The Life of St Maximos the Kausokalybe* (d. c. 1365), ed. E. Kourilas–F. Halkin, *AB*, 54 (1936), 65–109, esp. 70,21–71,3 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐκστατικῆς αὐτοῦ θεωρίας τοῖς πᾶσιν

<sup>8</sup> See Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio*, 169–201 (Appendice II: “La profezia pseudo-danielica dei codd. Laud. gr. 27 e Barocc. gr. 145 della Bodleiana di Oxford”).



ἐδόκειν (sic) ὡς ἔξηχος, αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦτο ὑποκρινόμενος τάχα μωρολογίαν προσέπλαττεν, ὡς ὁ διὰ Χριστὸν Ἀνδρέας ἐκεῖνος ὁ μέγιστος· ὅθεν καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐκείνον ὑπετόπαζον εἶναι καὶ Μάξιμον μωρίαν ὑποκρινόμενον διὰ Κύριον· καὶ διὰ θαύματος μᾶλλον εἶχον αὐτὸν καὶ ἑώρων ἢ σαλὸν καὶ μωρὸν λογιζόμενοι.

6. Alexander the Clerk, "On Constantinople" (c. 1394–5), ed. and tr. in Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 160–5, esp. 162 "Here (i.e. at Blachernae) there is an icon of the holy Mother of God whom St. Andrew saw in the sky praying for the world." Alexander obviously refers to Andrew's vision 3732–58, although Nikephoros does not say that Andrew saw the Mother of God "in the sky". What exactly Alexander saw represented in the icon we do not know. It is clear, however, that he expresses himself as a man familiar with the Pokrov motif (see *infra*).

7. The Life of the Holy Fool Prokopios of Ustyug (d. 1302), written by an author who lived more than 300 years after the saint, contains several borrowings from VA. A particularly good example is the description of how Prokopios survived a winter storm. In E. Benz' German translation the passage in which Andrew's name appears runs as follows:<sup>9</sup> "Da verspürte er plötzlich Wärme in sich und schlug seine Augen auf und sah vor sich den Engel Gottes, der ihm in solcher Gestalt erschien, wie er manchmal vor Zeiten in Zargrad dem heiligen Narren Andreas erschien, als er in einer ähnlichen Zeit bittersten Frostes am Leben verzweifelte. Der Engel trug in seiner Hand einen Paradieseszweig, an dem verschiedenartige Blumen blühten, und berührte damit den ehrwürdigen Prokopij im Angesicht, belebte und erwärmte seinen Leib mit dem Wohlgeruch jener Blumen, wie vormals den des Andreas" (cf. VA 489–99).

8. An excerpt of the conversation between Andrew and a demon (app. d, lines 161–75) was included in a late version of the *nomocanon*, probably compiled on Mount Athos in the 15th century (Beck, *Kirche*, 147), see A. Pavlov, *Nomokanon pri bol'shom trebnik*", 155f. Title: 'Εκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου, τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ. *Inc.* 'Ερωτηθεῖς δαίμων παρὰ τοῦ τρισμακάροῦ Ἀνδρέου, τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν σαλοῦ· πόθεν λέγων ἐπίστασαι καὶ προλέγεις τινά; *Des.* ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ὁσιος, ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ εὐθέως ἄφαντος ἐγένετο.

<sup>9</sup> E. Benz, *Russische Heiligenlegenden* (Zürich, 1953), 289. The translation is based on a *menaion* printed in Moscow 1805, which in turn is a reprint of the Kiev edition of 1689.

# Andrew in Art

## Byzantine and Greek art

I have only come across five pictures. Further research may of course bring more, but with regard to the official reluctance to accept Andrew as a genuine saint, the material is likely to remain small.

a. Wall painting in St Neophytos' hermitage in Cyprus, executed in 1185 on the south wall of the cella, to the right of a Crucifixion. "St. Andrew is represented as a man with unkempt grey hair and a short beard ... He wears a short-sleeved fleecy white garment tied round his waist with a cord. In his right hand he holds a branch with red, blue, and green leaves bespattered with white dots. The left hand is held palm outwards."<sup>1</sup> The branch in Andrew's hand probably refers to the same passage as the one that appears in the legend of St. Prokopios of Ustyug (cf. *supra*), namely 489–99, in which Andrew is saved from freezing to death by a wonderful young man who strikes him in the face with a celestial plant, thus giving him "strength and indomitable life".

b. Wall painting in the refectory of the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, dated 1512. Andrew is depicted full length in a row of ascetics, between St Ioannikios and St Loukas the Younger. He has long, tangled hair and is bearded. He is rather respectably dressed, although his forearms and feet are bare. On his left side he holds an unfolded scroll with the inscription: Μὴ κόρος ἐντέρων Χριστὸς (leg. Χριστοῦ σε) χωρίσει. Μὴ βόρβορος σε τῶν παθῶν καθηδύνει. Εἰ δ' οὖν, δακρύσεις ἐν φλογὶ τῷ παμφάγῳ.<sup>2</sup>

c. Wall painting in the refectory of the Dionysiou monastery on Mount Athos, dated 1547. Andrew stands full length in a row of ascetics, between St Paulos of Thebes and St Onouphrios. Unlike the latter, who is naked except for a loin-cloth, he wears a long dress that leaves only his forearms

<sup>1</sup> C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 119–206, esp. 179; cf. pl. 92 and fig. C. One wonders why Neophytos did not rather have a painting of Symeon the Fool, who through his biographer Leontios of Neapolis was more naturally connected with Cyprus than Andrew.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos, I, Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), pl. 147,1, sixth saint from the right.



and feet bare. His hair and parted beard are well-kept. On his right side he holds an unfolded scroll with the inscription: 'Υποπίαζε τὸ σῶμα καὶ προσεύχου σηνεχῶς (sic) καὶ τῶν ἐκ προσλίψεων (sic) λογισμῶν τάχιστα ἀπαλλαττεῖν (?).<sup>3</sup> According to the *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεῖα*,<sup>4</sup> the painting was made by a certain Τζώρτζης or Ζώρτζης, a Cretan who, judging by his name, had his roots in Venice.

d. An unpretentious black and white picture in MS no. 79, fol. 10, between ch. 2 and 3, covering about half the page. Andrew has been put in chains in the church of St Anastasia. He is comforted by the saint and her five fellow martyrs (cf. 116ff.). Behind them the sick are sleeping on the floor. Andrew seems to be suspended in the air in front of the ciborium, his eyes directed towards a hand that blesses him from above; his shoes lie on the floor. His head is large and bald, his body young and plump, his clothes smart, presumably according to 25–9. The same motif appears in one of the frame pictures of an icon in the Russian Museum in Moscow, see *infra*. There are framed spaces for more illustrations in the same MS, but they are empty.

e. A full-page picture in MS no. 100, fol. 4, opposite the beginning of the Vita. Andrew stands in the centre. His legs and right shoulder are bare, his hair and beard bushy. On his right arm he holds the part of his dress that comes down from his left shoulder. The palm is raised outwards. With his left hand he makes a gesture, palm upwards. He is surrounded by something that looks like a collage added at a later date and consisting of bits of multicoloured paper and of pictures of a palm tree on one side and of a church and cypresses on the other. The church is not in Byzantine style; it has a bell-tower surmounted by a cross with a streamer. Nothing of this is reminiscent of the Vita.

It is perhaps significant that the only two illuminated MSS of the Greek VA known to me belong to the Russian monastery on Mount Athos.

## Russian art

There are at least two old Russian icons of Andrew, framed with scenes from his life, and quite a number of Pokrov icons, in which Andrew appears in the bottom right corner, explaining his vision of the Mother of God at Blachernae to his friend Epiphanius (3732–58). In two other icons de-

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pl. 214, in the middle.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. II (1963), col. 672 s.v. 'Ανδρέας 3.



voted to the Virgin Andrew figures among the saints that worship or accompany her. There may of course exist many more icons in which Andrew has been represented more or less conspicuously.

a. St Petersburg, Russian Museum, icon no. 2099, painted in the early 16th century by a follower of Dionisy.<sup>5</sup> Andrew is represented full length, half-naked, barefoot, raising his right hand palm outwards, with his left holding together his loin-cloth. Rich curly hair and beard encircle a small face with close-set eyes. According to Alpatov, Andrew is reminiscent of an ancient philosopher or rhetor rather than of an ascetic.<sup>6</sup> However that may be, his portrait is framed by eighteen scenes from his life, five at the top, four on each side, and five at the bottom. Going from left to right, row by row downwards, the scenes, as far as I can identify them, are as follows:

1. Andrew, young and nicely dressed, at school (17–22).

2. Andrew performs his midnight prayer in front of an icon; the devil knocks at his door; Andrew returns to his bed (two scenes in one picture by the device of simultaneous succession) (34–42).

3. Andrew, still young and handsome, with Christ wearing a crown; he is probably holding three other crowns in his hands (51). In the same picture, again by the artifice of simultaneous succession, he defeats the devil in single combat; to the left an angel, to the right an Ethiopian, apparently representing the *πλῆθος λευσχημόνων* and the *πλῆθος Αἰθιοπῶν* (44f.); in the background two mountains (42–88).

4. Andrew attacked by the devil in the church of St Anastasia (130–75). To the left St John takes off Andrew's chain, with which he flogs a demon to the right, while his companion stands ready to bring him the other demons one by one. The scene is represented as if it took place outside the church.

5. Andrew and the heavenly king (176–217).<sup>7</sup>

6. The church door opens itself for Andrew, and a young man happens to see the miracle (1291–311).<sup>8</sup>

7. The rich man's funeral: the rich man lies in his coffin surrounded by demons; in the background Andrew speaks to an angel (1498–562).

<sup>5</sup> For a good colour reproduction see V.N. Lazarev, *Moscow School of Icon-Painting* (Moscow, 1971), pl. 81. A black-and-white photo may be found in my article "The Life of St Andrew the Fool, illustrated by the Border-Scenes of the St. Petersburg Icon, Russian Museum 2099," in H. Hokwerda, E.R. Smits (†), M.M. Westhuis, eds., *Polyphonia Byzantina. Studies in honour of Willem J. Aerts* (Groningen, 1993), 113–17.

<sup>6</sup> M. Alpatov, *Il maestro del Cremlino* (Milan, 1963), 123.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. Alpatov, *Treasures of Russian Art in the 11th–16th Centuries* (Leningrad, 1970), pl. 196.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lazarev, op. cit., pl. 82. Lazarev's interpretation as "Andrey's vision at the Church of St Anastasia" is obviously wrong.

8. Andrew's vision of the Lord enthroned in the church of the Holy Apostles (1822–5). As in no. 4 the church is of the Russian kind; the artist has not tried to reproduce the real church.

9. Andrew and a monk or priest pray to God, whose hand is visible in the upper left corner. Behind them a man with a red face and beard and red hands, dressed in a white garment and a red, pointed cap, is sitting on a pillow on a stool, raising his right hand. I am at a loss to explain which episode this picture is supposed to illustrate. The only time Andrew appears with a monk in the *Vita* is in ch. 32 (περὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Σταυρίῳ), but the circumstances there do not fit this scene; cf. nos. 12 and 13.

10. The story of the grave robber: the dead girl, waking up, raises herself, bare-breasted, from her coffin and takes back her vest from the robber (1859–910, esp. 1903f.). Andrew points a warning finger at the latter.<sup>9</sup>

11. Unmasked by Andrew the devil, who appeared in the disguise of an old woman, assumes the shape of a huge serpent and disappears into the house of a woman; her neighbours, who hasten to help her find the serpent, are represented to the right (752–92, esp. 789–91). The woman and the serpent are represented in combination and without colour.<sup>10</sup>

12. Andrew sees the dragon of avarice coiling himself round the greedy monk (1963–75). On the left side of the monk a demon, on his right an angel (1973–5).

13. Thanks to Andrew, the dragon of avarice leaves the monk and disappears in the form of a raven (1952–2106, esp. 2098f.).

14. In a vision in the church of St Sophia, Andrew sees a procession, headed by King David with the lyre in his hands, approaching the ambo (2651–61). Despite the ambo, the church is depicted from the outside. The artist has not tried to give an illusion of the real St Sophia in CP; as in nos. 4 and 8, the church is of a Russian type.

15. Andrew stands to the right of a tower provided with three pinnacles, two windows and a door. He seems to be being beaten or cuffed by two men. Behind them a demon makes a sign on the forehead of an elegantly dressed young man. A woman on the left side of the tower looks on. The picture apparently illustrates the scene described in lines 3559–614, in which a woman, called Barbara, has her eyes opened so that she can see the demons marking those who beat Andrew. The scene takes place in the Forum, by the column of Constantine the Great. One may wonder why the column has been represented as a tower. Presumably the artist identified

<sup>9</sup> Cf. M.V. Alpatov, *Il maestro del Cremlino* (Milan, 1963), pl. 94.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, pl. 95.



Barbara with her namesake among the martyrs, in whose martyrdom a tower played a prominent part.

16. The vision of the Mother of God at Blachernae (3732–58). The painter obviously imitates a Pokrov icon, since he includes the picture of St Romanos the Melodist standing in an ambo, a motif common in the Pokrov icons but without foundation in the Vita. On the other hand, the spreading out of the *maphorion*, which is of preeminent importance in the relevant episode in VA, is only indicated, not represented, in the picture.

17. An elegant young man lies on his bed. An angel leans over him, his right arm raised threateningly. Andrew stands at the foot of the bed, pointing towards the angel. The man is probably the adulterous *chartoularios plôimôn*, who appears in the episode subsequent to the vision at Blachernae, cf. 3772–87.

18. Andrew is seen to the left pointing towards a group of two, presumably consisting of himself lying dead on the ground while a woman leans over him, making a gesture with her hands; in the background a colonnade (4365–81).

Thus one notices that no. 9 defies identification, that according to the order of the Vita no. 11 should be located between nos. 5 and 6, that two pictures, nos. 12 and 13, refer to the same episode, while on the other hand two different stages of a simple episode may be represented in one picture, and further, that the apocalypse is not represented and that Epiphanius appears only in no. 16.

b. Another icon of the 16th century, according to N.P. Kondakov containing 14 border-scenes and belonging to the same museum as the previous painting.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately it is not to be found in the Russian Museum's present collections. Dr. T.B. Vilinbachova kindly informs me that it is not even likely to have ever belonged there. However, Kondakov describes the contents of the border-scenes as follows:

1. The young Andrew; Christ's three crowns; the host of men dressed in white; the host of Ethiopians (black demons); cf. 42ff.

2. Andrew throws the demon so that his head hits a stone; cf. 78–80 (see also app. crit.).

3. While in the church of St Anastasia Andrew sees five women and a venerable old man; cf. 114ff.

4. St John the Apostle and Theologian appears to Andrew, beating the demons; cf. 141ff.

5. The emperor (the heavenly king) lets Andrew taste bitterness and sweetness; cf. 176ff.

<sup>11</sup> N.P. Kondakov, *Russkaya Ikona*, IV, 2 (Prague, 1933), 308.



6. Andrew sees the grave robber uncovering the dead girl and the dead girl giving the robber a slap in the face; cf. 1859ff.

7. Andrew sees how the demons spread ashes over the dead rich man at his funeral; cf. 1498ff.

8. At the column of Constantine the Great in the Forum, Barbara sees Andrew in a pillar of fire; cf. 3559ff., esp. 3565–7.

9. Doves and swallows gather around Andrew; cf. 3586–602.

10. Andrew sees a demon in the form of a serpent join the greedy monk; cf. 1963ff.

11. Andrew is caught up to the third heaven; cf. 636ff.

12. Andrew suffers during the winter storm; cf. 422ff.

13. Andrew sees paradise; cf. 518ff.

14. Andrew looks at God Almighty; cf. 666–76.

The pictures of the icon *b*, which most often refer to the beginning of VA, overlap only partly with those of the icon *a* (icons *a* and *b* italicized for the sake of clarity). It would seem that *b* 1 and 2 correspond to *a* 3, *b* 4 and 5 to *a* 4 and 5, *b* 6 and 7 to *a* 10 and 7, *b* 8 and 9 to *a* 15, and *b* 10 to *a* 12 and 13, although the details apparently differ according to which aspect of the same episode the artist chose to emphasize. In *a* there is nothing corresponding to *b* 3 (Andrew and the five women in St Anastasia's church) and *b* 11–14 (Andrew is caught up to the third heaven during a winter storm). *b*, on the other hand, has no counterparts to ten of the pictures in *a*: *a* 1 (Andrew at school), *a* 2 (the devil knocks at Andrew's door), *a* 6 (the church door opens itself to Andrew), *a* 8 (the vision of the Lord Enthroned in the Holy Apostles), *a* 9 (Andrew with unidentified monk), *a* 11 (the devil in the guise of an old woman/serpent), *a* 14 (the vision of King David in St Sophia), *a* 16 (the vision of the Mother of God at Blachernae), *a* 17 (the angel of death [?] at a young man's bed), and *a* 18 (the death of Andrew). Neither icon illustrates the apocalypse or the *erotapokriseis*, which are prominent in the MS material. Nor is there any illustration of the episodes in which Epiphanius is the hero, as for instance in the story of the magician Vigrinos (2425–647).

c. The Pokrov icons. Since these are innumerable I restrict myself to mentioning the following six, dating from the early 14th century to the mid-15th.

1. Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery: icon from the Pokrovsky Convent at Suzdal, early 14th century.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Cf. K. Onasch, *Ikonen* (Berlin, 1961), pl. 5; M.V. Alpatov, *Early Russian Icon Painting*, (Moscow, 1974), pl. 32.

2. Novgorod Museum: icon from the Zverin Monastery, first half of the 14th century.<sup>13</sup>
3. Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery: Novgorod, first half of the 15th century.<sup>14</sup>
4. *Ibidem*: icon from the Morozov collection, first half of the 15th century.<sup>15</sup>
5. St Petersburg, Hermitage: Pskov, 15th century.<sup>16</sup>
6. Suzdal, mid-15th century.<sup>17</sup>

In these icons, Andrew is depicted as a tall, lean, bearded ascetic, sometimes dressed in a loose garment leaving his chest bare, as in the icon of the follower of Dionisy (nos. 4–6), sometimes in a kind of coat (no. 2) or fur (no. 3). With regard to the representation of the Theotokos' veil two different types have been distinguished, one in which the Theotokos herself holds her *maphorion* ('Moscow' type, here represented by no. 1), and one in which angels carry it ('Leningrad' type, here represented by no. 2).<sup>18</sup> The engraving on the west door of the cathedral of Suzdal, which dates from the first half of the 13th century, thus being the oldest known picture of Pokrov, is of the latter kind;<sup>19</sup> here, however, Andrew and Epiphanius do not appear.

As the feast of Pokrov was celebrated on October 1, the day of Romanos the Melodist,<sup>20</sup> Romanos is often represented standing in an ambo under the Theotokos with an unfolded scroll in his hand (as in nos. 1 and 6 and in frame picture no. 16 in the first icon of Andrew described *supra*); in other icons the corresponding space is occupied by the central doors of the iconostasis. In course of time the number of participants in the celebration tends to increase. The Pokrov motif seems to have become particularly popular at Novgorod.

A. Grabar has tried to show that the motif of the feast of Pokrov, as il-

<sup>13</sup> Cf. D. Likhachov and others, *Novgorod Icons 12th–17th Century* (Leningrad, 1980), pl. 40; E. Smirnova, *Zhivopis velikogo Novgoroda* (Moscow, 1976), 222.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. V. N. Lazarev, *Iskusstvo Novgoroda* (Moscow, 1947), pl. 98; Onasch, op. cit., pl. 21; Alpatov, *Early Russian Icon Painting*, pl. 30; Likhachov, op. cit., pl. 64.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Likhachov, op. cit., pl. 62.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Smirnova, op. cit., 225.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Yamshchikov, *Old Russian Painting. Recent Discoveries* (Moscow, 1965), pl. 18; L. Ouspensky–V. Lossky, *Der Sinn der Ikonen* (Bern–Olten, 1952), 155.

<sup>18</sup> See N. P. Kondakov, *Ikonografiya Bogomateri*, II (St Petersburg, 1915), 92–102, *idem*, *The Russian Icon* (Oxford, 1927), 114–18.

<sup>19</sup> See, e.g., A. Grabar, "Une source d'inspiration de l'iconographie byzantine tardive: les cérémonies du culte de la Vierge," *CahArch*, 25 (1976), 143–62, fig. 5.

<sup>20</sup> The veil motif was associated with a passage in the Akathistos hymn, which in turn was attributed to Romanos, see V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe* (Paris, 1988), 298.



illustrated in the Russian icons, derives from a Byzantine model based on a Byzantine liturgical celebration of Andrew's vision.<sup>21</sup> For my part I agree with the majority of scholars, according to whom the motif derives from Andrew's vision as described in the Russian translation of VA.<sup>22</sup> Possibly Nikephoros got the idea of creating this vision from a monumental representation of the Blachernitissa type.<sup>23</sup>

From Russia the Pokrov motif spread to other Slav areas. Thus there is a fresco with the Pokrov scene at the entrance to the exonarthex of the Gračanica Monastery near Priština, dated c. 1570.<sup>24</sup> As Ms. Krijnie Ciggaar has pointed out to me, there is also a representation in fresco of the Pokrov on the outer south wall of the church of Sucevița (c. 1585). To judge from the description of G. Nandriș, it is of the "Leningrad" type.<sup>25</sup> Whether there also are other representations of Pokrov or even icons of Andrew alone in the post-Byzantine churches of Rumania, I do not know.<sup>26</sup>

d. In addition to its Pokrov icons, the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow possesses two other icons of the Theotokos in which Andrew appears. One is a triptych attributed to the Moscow school and dated 1491 in which the Bogomater Jaroslavskaya is depicted in the centre and various saints are represented on the wings. The left wing contains fifteen biblical, Byzantine and Russian saints, among them Andrew the Fool.<sup>27</sup>

The other is a Bogomater Bogolyubskaya painted towards the end of the 17th century by Andrey Fedorov. The Mother of God stands to the left, turned against Christ who appears in the upper right corner. In front of her a number of people pray for her intercession: in the first row Andrey Bogolyubsky; in the second St Luke, Constantine and Helen; in the third Peter, Alexey and Jona, metropolitans of Moscow; in the fourth the prelate Antipas, the metropolitan Philip and St Sabbaty; in the fifth Andrew the Fool, Vasily Vlashenny and St Zosimas.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Op. cit., esp. 161.

<sup>22</sup> See, among others, Christa Belting-Ihm, "Sub matris tutela", *AbhHeidelbAkWiss, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 3 (1976), esp. 60; cf. also Rydén, "Vision of the Virgin".

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Christa Belting-Ihm, op. cit. 61.

<sup>24</sup> See N.K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leyden, 1986), 130 and fig. 84.

<sup>25</sup> G. Nandriș, *Christian Humanism in the Neo-Byzantine Mural-Painting of Eastern Europe* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 51f.; see also P. Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord des origines à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> s.* (Paris, 1930), pl. XIII a.

<sup>26</sup> Henry, op. cit., 265, mentions that the narthex of the Sucevița church contains a complete menologium.

<sup>27</sup> See Gos. Tretyakovskaya Gallereya: V. Antonova-N. Mneva, *Katalog drevnerusskoy zhivopisi*, I (Moscow, 1963), 328f. (no. 273); cf. pl. 208, in which, however, only the central panel has been reproduced.

<sup>28</sup> See op. cit., II (Moscow, 1963), 421 (no. 922) and pl. 149.



## Two Monasteries associated with Andrew in Russian Sources

According to an anonymous Russian description of CP, probably based on a Byzantine original written in 1389–91,<sup>1</sup> there was a monastery of Andrew the Fool in the area north of St Andrew en Krisei in the western part of the city.<sup>2</sup> The monastery reckoned the staff of Andrew the Fool among its relics.<sup>3</sup> Professor Majeska suggests that it should be identified with a daughter house of the suburban Evergetis Monastery of the Virgin known from other sources and located near St Mokios.<sup>4</sup>

Later the Deacon Zosima of the Sergius Monastery near Moscow wrote an account of a pilgrimage he made in 1419–22.<sup>5</sup> On his way to and from Jerusalem he also visited CP. Among other things he reports that there was a monastery of Andrew the Fool not far from St Sophia, in which people possessed by demons were cured.<sup>6</sup> It is probably identical with the church of St Andrew of Mangana.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. and tr. in Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 128–53. On the date, see C. Mango, “The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople,” *BZ*, 45 (1952), 380–5, to which Majeska refers.

<sup>2</sup> Majeska, *op. cit.*, 148.

<sup>3</sup> No such staff is mentioned in VA. According to a variant reading the monastery also possessed Andrew’s body.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 315f.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. and tr. *ibidem*, 176–95.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, 182.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, 383.



## Indices





# Biblical Quotations and Reminiscences

## *Old Testament* (in the order of the Septuagint)

Genesis		18:38	3170-2
1:1	3061f.	18:41-6	3185f.
1:2	3012		
1:14	<i>d</i> 27f.	Psalms	
3:6	165f.	4:7	1806f.
6:5-7	3193f.	4:9	1905; 2938f.
8:11	3589-91	9:6-7	2571-4
9:13	3112f.	9:36	2172
18:2 par.	618f.	16:6 par.	4344
19:28	293	18:2	3100f.
24:11 par.	97f.	18:8	3433f.
		18:11	<i>a</i> 58
Exodus		21:30	<i>l</i> 239f.; 2681
3:8 par.	2936	22:4	2538f.
13:21	3565f.; 4388	24:13	1561
15:11	<i>e</i> 45f.	26:1	953
15:25	3154f.	32:7	3113f.; 3123
15:26	<i>d</i> 230f.	32:18	1609
23:3	2006	33:17	3544; 3618
31:3	4361	33:19	446f.
34:6	1852; 4347	33:20	2772f.
35:31	4361	38:6	2774f.
		41:5	3610f.; <i>e</i> 137-9 (E)
Leviticus		41:8	3080
19:15	2006f.	44:2	<i>3514</i>
		44:3	4214
Numbers		45:6	1428
20:17	197f.	48:13,21	2359f.
		48:21	<i>a</i> 168f.
Deuteronomy		49:1	<i>f</i> 26
32:21	<i>3943</i>	50:8	1785f.
		50:13	4354f.
1 Kings		53:3	3339f.
1:11	<i>e</i> 7	54:20	2944f.
17	42-88	67:14	3598f.
		67:36	1118f.; 2634; <i>d</i> 252f.
3 Kings		72:22-3	3272f.
17:1	3185f.	73:12	3936f.
18:19,25	3172	73:19	140

208 *The Life of Andrew the Fool*

74:9	3242–4	21:18	1937
76:14–15	1789f.	30:3	427
82:15	3775		
83:7	<i>d</i> 117f.	Hosea	
83:11	<i>e</i> 41f. (E)	6:6	1995
87:7	495; 2310f.; 2410	12:11	3035
90:11	910f.		
93:20–1	<i>d</i> 45–7	Micah	
94:4	<i>d</i> 6–8	4:3	3831f.
96:7	4207f.		
101:26–7	<i>d</i> 131–4	Joel	
103:2	638	2:20	3870
103:3	3057f.	2:31	3878
108:15	3544; 3618		
111:5	<i>e</i> 41f. (E)	Habakkuk	
117:22	3421f.	3:16	3613f.
118:35	1208f.		
118:45	549	Isaiah	
118:62	35–7; 3766	2:4	3831f.
118:103	4161	2:21	3878
118:143	2773f.	3:16	<i>a</i> 71
118:172	830	4:1	3951f.
120:4	3088	4:3	4116f.
127:2	281f.	6:9	1684
127:3	3399f.	11:12	4007–10; 4009
131:1,6	2658–61	11:16	4010f.
131:4	2665	13:10	4061–3
131:5	2667f.	14:13–14	3984–6
131:17	3428f.	14:14	2999
134:7	3164f.	18:2	622
135:25	953	26:14	3406f.
137:6	1257f.	28:16	555f.
140:7	2397f.	28:17	3550
148:7	3201	40:4	3906
150:6 par.	<i>d</i> 114f.	40:22	<i>d</i> 39f.
		41:1	4077
Proverbs		44:9	2434f.
3:34	2175	45:16	4077
8:22	3301f.	49:1	4077
8:23	2946	57:15	<i>a</i> 61f.
8:25	3318–32	58:6	<i>a</i> 40f.
14:12	1064; 3499	58:7	1995; <i>a</i> 39f.
		59:10	1908
Ecclesiastes		64:5	3632f.
2:18	2056f.	65:17 par.	<i>d</i> 142f.
6:2	2056f.	66:2	1989f.
11:2	2971f.		
		Jeremiah	
Job		5:8	3869
2:9	3983	38:18	1838



Ezekiel		18:8 par.	2247
3:3	3697f.; 3698	19:6	3383f.
5:17	4110	19:17 par.	3521f.
32:27	3928	24:2 par.	3096f.
37:7	2964f.	24:7 par.	3900
37:8	2966	24:8 par.	3809; 3905f.; 4002
		24:12	3906
Susanna		24:16 par.	4065f.
42	1257	24:20	3087
		24:29	4061-3
Daniel		24:33 par.	3810; 4125f.
7:10	1740f.	24:37-8 par.	3826-30; 3857f.
7:13	2324	24:39	3858
7:21	3887f.	24:40-1	2704f.
7:25	3861	25:12	<i>d</i> 112
8:8	3820f.	25:21,23	4036
12:7	3861	25:34	2321f.
		25:34-6	1987f.
		25:36	<i>a</i> 55f.
		25:41	<i>d</i> 113
		26:26	187; 208
		26:53	3004f.
		28:2	1885

## New Testament

Matthew		Mark	
2:16	<i>d</i> 60-5	3:17	3132
5:5,8	1990f.	8:38	2840
5:7	1992f.	10:25	2678
5:10	1095f.	11:2ff. par.	2704
5:28	2219-21	12:40	3395f.
5:39	2151f.	13:7	3883f.
6:7	3279f.	13:12	3888-901
6:24 par.	3394		
6:25	1665f.	Luke	
6:33	1666; 3286f.	1:14	3856; 3912
7:14	192	1:38	<i>c</i> 13f.
8:12 par.	2247f.	1:52	<i>d</i> 59
8:20 par.	314; 432; 2079f.;	1:79	<i>f</i> 17f.
	4340f.; <i>e</i> 41	2:19	217
8:29 par.	<i>d</i> 331f. (E)	2:24	2240
9:13 par.	1995	2:47	810f.; 1022f.
10:9-10	2067f.	6:36	1993f.
10:21 par.	3888-901; 3964-6	12:20	2070f.
11:29	<i>d</i> 59	15:31 par.	215f.; 1019
13:11 par.	3815f.	16:29	1434f.
13:14	1684	19:4-5	2029
14:6 par.	2377	21:11	3899
16:19	<i>d</i> 232f.	23:27	107
17:2	<i>d</i> 91	23:34	3584
18:3	1241	23:42	1826
18:7	2155		

210 *The Life of Andrew the Fool*

23:46	3252f.	1 Corinthians	
		2:9	<i>a</i> 66f.; <i>d</i> 375f. (E)
John		3:10–11	3330–2
1:1	3132–6	3:18	86
1:14	3039	5:5	2087f.
3:13	3186f.; 3187	6:9	<i>a</i> 79
3:19	4142–4	6:18	3366f.
5:43	4015–17; cf. 4025f.	7:4	3382f.
7:37	3245f.	9:24–7	48
8:21	4017	9:25	54
8:34	905f.	14:20	3443
10:3	<i>d</i> 300f. (E)	15:10	709
10:16	<i>d</i> 303f. (E)	15:51–3	4123f.; <i>d</i> 119f.
10:28	3819f.	15:52	2967; 2968f.; 4121f.;
11:40	76f.; 3644	<i>d</i> 115	
12:13	3449f.	2 Corinthians	
13:25 par.	167–9	1:3	3431
14:6	4027	11:2	2885f.
14:17	3437f.	12:2	3063f.
15:1	555	12:2–3	589f.; 593f.
15:5	3631f.	12:4	690; 735–7
15:13	869f.	Galatians	
15:26	3436–8	6:2	2594f.
17:24	2321f.	6:7	3549f.
19:26	3141	Ephesians	
20:22–3	2016f.	2:20	2677f.
21:23	141	3:16	2756f.
Acts		4:30	2299
1:13	3444	5:6	2165f.
2:20	4061–3	5:23 par.	3314f.
7:23	2429f.	6:5	1146
7:48 par.	4041f.	6:17	3105f.
9:15	124	Philippians	
20:28	1622	3:13	286
26:26	2836	4:4	4140
Romans		4:7	4176f.
2:6	2970; 3551	Colossians	
2:9	3901	1:5	750f.
2:12	<i>d</i> 81–3; <i>d</i> 282f. (E)	1:16	2992; 3324f.; <i>e</i> 69
3:5	474	3:5	1978–80
8:17	216	3:12	124f.; <i>a</i> 96
8:28	2431	1 Thessalonians	
10:19	3943	4:15	4122f.
11:25–6	4012	4:17	2705f.; 4124f.
12:13	<i>e</i> 146 (E)		
12:17 par.	2150f.		
13:13	3377		

2 Thessalonians

2:3 3860

1 Timothy

2:2 1111f.

4:5 894

6:10 1972f.

6:12 85f.

2 Timothy

1:18 2282f.

2:26 *a* 88

4:5 894

Hebrews

1:7 1600

6:9 1112f.; 3906; *a* 14

6:10 474

7:26 1633

11:37 *a* 45

11:38 3913–20; 3955; *e* 74f.

12:1 85f.

13:4 2777

James

1:12 2752

1:27 *e* 30

3:7 423

1 Peter

1:7 742f.

2:6 556

1 John

2:15 1278; 2066

Revelation

2:23 *e* 24f.

6:2 3146

6:12 4061–3

8:11 188

9:4 4111–13

9:10 4111

10:1 143; 490f.

11:2 3861

11:3–12 4077–80

12:14 3861

13:5 3861

14:15 2889

16:1 2551f.

18:11–19 4044–7

18:21 3993–9

20:7 4072

20:8 4075

20:11 *d* 139f.

21:25 *d* 146

22:2 553f.

22:5 554f.



## Other Texts mentioned in Notes to the Translation

1000/10 = line 1000, note 10      *a* 10 = Appendix *a*, note 10

Achmes, *Oneirocriticon*, ed. Drex1, 62,19 (app. crit.): 1243/2

*ActDavSymGeorg*, ed. van den Gheyn, 220,5: 4390f./6

Acts of Nicaea II, ed. Mansi XIII, 80A: 3535–7/11

*Acts of Pilate* 20,2, ed. de Santos Otero, 474: 1913/9

*Akathistos*, 23,1–2: 2671/6

Andrew of Crete, *In dormitionem S. Mariae*, PG 97, 1048A: 1913/9

*ApocAnastasiae*, ed. Homburg, 12: 2874f./1 • 19,1: 2248/5 • 24,6–8: 1973/6 • 32,7–8: 1428/3

*ApocDan*, ed. Berger, § 5,12: 3927f./47 • 6,2: 3950f./55 • 7,3: 3863f./24 • 8,1 (rec. B): 3961/58 • 9,3: 3989f./63 • 9,4: 3997–9/64 • 9,5: 4042f./78, 4044–7/79 • 9,9: 4048f./80 • 12,9: 4065f./85

*ApocDanArm*, tr. Macler, 293, § 17: 3930/48 • 300,28: 3961/58

*ApocPaul*, tr. James, 526, ch. 3: 708f./3 • 550, ch. 46: *ibidem*

Arethas of Caesarea, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, 11,3, PG 106, 645B: 3196–8/67

Arethas of Caesarea, *Scripta minora*, ed. Westerink, I, 240,27–8: 2458/6

PsAthanasios, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum*, PG 28, 604C: 2995–3001/26 • 609AB: 3297–300/79 • 617A: 2890–2/4

Bartholomew of Edessa, *Ἐλεγχος Ἀγαπηνοῦ*, ch. 65, ed. Todt, 92–4: *d* 51

Basil of Caesarea, *Hom. 13 in baptisma*, PG 31, 424ff.: 4135/1 • 425B: 4146f./4

*Book of the Eparch*, ed. Koder, line 545: 1506/4 • lines 709–12: 253f./3

Constantine of Rhodes, *Ekphrasis*, ed. Legrand, lines 139–40: 1922/3 • 139–41: 3987f./62 • 178–201: 1943/9 • line 200: 572, 585f./14 • lines 472–6: 1793/1

*DAI*, 53/29 and 132: 3928/47

*De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 165,17: 351/1 • 251,1–2, 254,20–1: 339/9

*De cer.*, ed. Vogt, I, 68,2–3: 1503/2 • I, 154,3: 351/1

*DigAkr*, ed. Mavrogordato, I, 126: 62/10 • III, 137–43: *d* 51 • IV, 766: 2164f./8 • IV, 883: 55/8 • VI, 63ff.: 1965/3 • VI, 107: 2164f./8

- Disputatio cum Herbano Iudaeo*, PG 86, 632B: 3824f./9  
*Douze récits*, ed. Halkin, III, ch. 36: 881f./6 • ch. 41: 2556/16 • ch. 46: 881f./6 • ch. 54: 1060/5  
 Epiphanius, *Panarion*, ed. Holl, 30,10,3: 98f./2  
 Evagrius Scholastikos, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Bidez–Parmentier, 196,1 and 215,6: 71f./11  
 Eusebios of Alexandria, *Sermo de die Dominico*, PG 86/1, 416CD: 937–42/2  
 Euthymios Zigabenos, *Contra Messalianos*, PG 131, 45BC: 3890/35  
 Genesios, ed. Lesmueller-Werner–Thurn, 90,26: 1294f./1  
 George the Monk, *Chronicon*, ed. de Boor, 647,16–18: 1061f./6  
 Georgios Pisides, *Hexaëmeron*, lines 774–5 (PG 92, 1493): 3663/7 • line 777 (*ibidem*): 2365/7  
 Goar, *Euchologion*, 36: 1257/4 • 291: 402f./1 • 303–4: 2621–3/27 • 424: 1501/1 • 427: 1517f./9 • 460: 1752f./5 • 462: 1950/10  
*Gospel of Nicodemus*, part two, ed. de Santos Otero, 469ff.: f 4 • 6(22),2, ed. cit. 478: 4072/86  
*Gospel of Thomas*, 2,2–4, ed. de Santos Otero, 302–21: 3178–80/61  
 Gregory of Nazianzos, *Carmen I*, part 2, no. 32, 17–18, PG 37, 917A: 1020–2/2  
 Haldon, *Three Treatises*, C176: 431/4 • C324–5: 3819/6 • C434–5: 2536/11  
 Halkin, “Vie de Constantin”, ch. 10,25ff. and 19,9: 1511–14/7  
 PsHippolytos, *Consmundi*, ed. Achelis, 298,20ff.: 4014/70 • 300,1–2: 3981–6/61  
*HistLaus*, ed. Butler, 29,4–5: e 14 • 59,19: 262f./5  
 Jerome of Jerusalem, *Dialogus de Trinitate*, PG 40, 852C: 847/12  
 JohDam, *Expfid*, ed. Kotter, ch. 15,14–16: 2962/17 • ch. 16,6: 2943f./9 • ch. 20,54–5: d 10 • ch. 21,163–4: d 7 • ch. 26,22–3: 2925f./4 • ch. 26,34–6: 2918/3 • ch. 99,31–3: 4069–72/86  
 JohDam, *Imag*, ed. Kotter, III, 21,27–8: 842f./10 • III, 21,24–5: 845/11  
 John Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instruction*, tr. Harkins, 52: 1472f./4  
 John Chrysostom (?), *In decollationem Ioannis Baptistae*, PG 59, 485ff.: 2377/8  
 John of Damaskos (?), *De draconibus*, PG 94, 1601A: 3199/68  
 John Klimax, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, 1013C: 2242/4, 2765/9  
 John of Skythopolis, PG 4, 313C (a scholion): 2976f./23  
 Kekaumenos, *Strategicon*, ed. Litavrin, 270,6: 71f./11  
 PsKodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 255: 2684–7/5  
 Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography*, II, 84,1–2, ed. Wolska-Conus, vol. 1, 403: d 8 • VI, 5,11–12, ed. cit. vol. 3, 19: d 7

- Letter of Christ *de die dominica*, ed. Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, 32: 2874f./1  
*Liber de Mariae dormitione*, ed. Tischendorf, 108,2ff.: 4385/4  
Malalas, ed. Dindorf, 481,9: 3997–9/64  
*Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, 4,18, ed. Charlesworth, 162: *d* 8  
PsMethodios, ed. Lolos, 78,14–20 (rec. 1): 4056f./82 • 102,50–1 (rec. 1):  
3896–8/36 • 128,90–5: 3826–30/10 • 130,102–7: 4056f./82 • 132: 3914–  
16/44  
*MirAnastPers*, ed. Flusin, 149,18–19: 1423f./2  
*MirArtem*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 11,21–2: 179/2 • 13,7–8: 1970/4 •  
18,3: 179/2 • 44,22: *ibidem* • 46,28–9: 972/9 • 47,2 and 50,27f.: 1970/4 •  
62,18ff.: 117ff./1 • 70,23–4: 851f./13  
*MirGeorg*, ed. Aufhauser, 53,9: 58/9  
*MirTheclae*, ed. Dagron, 9,41–6: 71f./11  
*NarrSozomEleem*, ed. Ševčenko, 734,7–19: 518–46/4  
Nau, “Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase sur les saints pères du Si-  
naï,” *OrChr*, 2 (1902), 85,22ff.: 405/2  
Nikephoros Blemmydes, *A Partial Account*, tr. Munitiz I, 52, p. 74: 2400f./  
2  
Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, 131,11ff.: 1914f./10  
Nissen, “Unbekannte Erzählungen aus dem Pratum spirituale,” *BZ*, 38  
(1938), 351–76, Index s.v. τροχός: 1907/7  
*Oracle of Baalbek*, ed. Alexander, lines 165–6: 4325/2  
*OrSib*, ed. Geffcken, III, 75–6: 3961/58 • III, 363–4: 3930/48, 49 • III, 659–  
60: 3856f./21 • VII, 123: *d* 2 • VIII, 194: 3961/58  
Palladios, *Dialogue sur la Vie de Jean Chrysostome*, ed. Malingrey, ch.  
6,14: 881f./6  
*Parastaseis* (the whole text): 826f./5  
*Passio Thyrsi et soc.*, *BHG* 1844z: 41/3  
Passions of St Catherine of Alexandria, esp. *BHG* 30a, ed. Viteau, 25–39:  
826f./5  
*Penitentia Pelagiae*, ed. Usener, 11,8ff.: 1381–4/2  
Photios, *Bibliotheca*, codex 36, ed. Henry, vol. 1, 21: *d* 7 and 8  
Photios, *Hom.* 17, ed. Laourdas, 167,34–5: 2885f./2  
*PratSpir*, PG 87:3, 2865CD: 2215f./1 • 2888C: 384f./2 • 2917AB: 42ff./5 •  
2932BC: 1859ff./1 and 1885–8/4 • 2933C: 1885–8/4 • 2933C–2936B:  
1859ff./1 • 2976A: 2071f./30 • 3004A: 384f./2 • 3041A: 2025/19 •  
3093C: 58/9  
Preger, *Scriptores*, 174,7–11: 3561f./1 • 214,2–4: 3634f./4 • 235,22:  
3648f./6  
Pribsch, “Letter from Heaven,” 20 and 36: 941f./2  
Prokopios, *Buildings*, I, 4,9–16: 1828/6



- Prokopios of Gaza, *Commentarii in Genesin*, PG 87:1, 46C–48B: 3013–16/30
- M. Psellos, *De omnifaria doctrina*, ed. Westerink, ch. 127: d 7
- PsPsellos, *De daemonibus*, ed. Gautier, *REB*, 38 (1980), 133–94, line 353: 1799–801/2
- Romanos the Melode, *Hymns*, ed. Grosdidier de Matons, XV, 11,4–5: 71f./11
- SynaxCP*, ed. Delehay, 25,33–4: 1953–5/1 • 25,33ff.: 1301–3/2 • 181,19: 1953f./1 • 203,10: 2994/25 • 232,31ff.: 1301f./2 • 253,52ff.: 4196/1 • 299,18–19: 1847f./3 • 333,21–5: 117/1 • 673,38–41: 3561f./1 • 872,6ff.: 3817–20/6 • 924,19–20: 879/5, 4328f./3
- Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, ed. Gouillard, 45,6–7: 4077/88
- Testament of Solomon*, ed. McCown, ch. 26: f 2
- Theodore of Stoudios, *Refutatio poëmatum iconomachorum*, PG 99, 449AB: 3535–7/11
- Theognostos, *Thesaurus*, ed. Munitiz, I, 119: 1061f./6 • XV<sup>2</sup>, 763–5: 1367/2 • XVI, 425–6: 1937/8 • XX, 26, line 351ff.: 3209–23/71
- TheophConf, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 286,6: 71f./11 • 367,28: 2092/34 • 391,1: 973/10 • 470,15–16: 2536/11 • 473,2–3: 1472f./4 • 490,11: 71f./11
- TheophCont*, Bonn ed., 430,6–9: 764/1
- Trempelas, *Μικρὸν εὐχολόγιον*, I, 291ff.: 2621/26 • I, 355,38–9: 402f./1 • I, 357ff.: 2621/26 • I, 369–70: 2622f./27 • I, 372: *ibidem*
- VAnt*, PG 26, 829A: e 14 • 869A: 2056f./25
- VAntIun*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ch. 3: 42ff./5
- VBasIun*, fols. 2–66, ed. Vilinskij, 292,9: 1476/5 • 297,22–4: 152/6 • 302,28–31: 3806f./2 • 305: 1995/13 • 310,8–9: 356/2 • 321,13–14: 2133f./2 • fols. 66–147, ed. Veselovskij, 23: 1506/3 • 26: 1059f./4, 1973/6 • 31,17: 2492f./10 • 40: 512f./2 • 41,12–14: 2358/5 • 42ff.: 3297–300/79 • 47: 512f./2 • 54: 2029/20 • 65,23ff.: 3817–20/6 • 66,16–17: 2296/7 • fols. 147–351, ed. Veselovskij, 4: 3184/63 • 32: 1973/6 • 38: 1511, 1514/7 • 42: 518f./4 • 74–5: 1762–71/6 • 78: 2006f./17 • 83: 55/8 • 93,21: 254–7/4 • 98: 1511, 1514/7 • 104–6: a 10 • 110: 3302/81 • 119: 2090/33 • 121: 3535–7/11 • 169: 1937/8 • fols. 351–78, ed. Vilinskij, 331: 2061/26 • 340: 40/2 • 342,28–9: 2340f./3
- VBasMac*, Bonn ed., 229,12ff.: 42ff./5 • 339: 1294–6/1
- VConstantini*, *BHG* 364, ed. Guidi, 337,16: 1920/1
- VConstJud*, ed. Delehay, ch. 86: 3185f./63
- VCyrrillPhileot*, ed. Sargologos, ch. 3,1: 2242/4 • ch. 41,2: 40/2 • ch. 46,2: 157/7
- VDanStyl*, ed. Delehay, 44,20ff.: 1847/3

- VEpiphani*, PG 41, 93B: 2006f./17 • 109D: 1859ff./1  
*VEustrat*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 367,12–13: 2183/14 • 370,6: 1749–51/4 • 372,5: 277/1 • 374,1–2: 3885/31 • 379,15: 1387–9/4  
*VEuthym*, ed. Schwartz, 12,3–5: 29–31/6  
*VEuthymPatrCP*, ed. Karlin-Hayter, 127,20–1: 135/1  
*VEuthymSard*, ed. J. Gouillard†, line 681ff.: 3018f./32  
*VGregAgrig*, PG 98, 568B: 1627f./6  
*VGregent*, ed. Vasiliev, 40: 3180f./62 • PG 86, 645A: *f* 1  
*VHilar*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 101: 1105–7/2  
*VIgn*, PG 105, 500B: 384f./2 • 540D–541D: 1971/5  
*Vloannic*, BHG 936: 1907/7  
*VloEl*, ed. Festugière, ch. 6,32–5: 2061/26 • ch. 6,50ff.: *a* 10 • ch. 6,78: 40/2 • ch. 22,35: 1260f./1 • ch. 23,14: 2053/24 • ch. 23,91–2: 1307–11/3 • ch. 27,72–3: 2340f./3 • ch. 38,104: 334/8 • ch. 43,16–17: 3987f./62 • ch. 45: 937–42/2 • ch. 47,5: 1627f./6  
*VIrChrys*, ed. Rosenqvist, 20,12: 3984–6/61 • 56,27ff.: 117/1 • 56,29ff.: 3736–41/4 • 62,19–23: 2547–9/14 • 68,11–14: 110f./5 • 108,13: 4372/2  
*VisCosm*, ed. Angelidi, 179ff.: 3297–300/79 • 229–31: 729/7  
*VisDan*, ed. Schmoldt, 208, § 3,3: 3863f./24 • 210, § 3,10: 3997–9/64 • 210, § 3,16: 3848–51/18 • 212, § 3,19: 3845/17  
*VisDanHeb*, tr. Sharf, 304 (D): 3824f./9, 3851f./19 • 304 (F): 3907–9/41, 3913f./43 • 305 (J): 3860f./23, 24 • 306 (J): 3880f./29, 4044–7/79 • 306 (K): 4048f./80  
*VisDanSlav*, tr. Alexander, § 9: 3848–51/18  
*VisDanUlt*, ed. Schmoldt, 132, § 47: 3824f./9 • 136, § 55–6: 3848–51/18 • 136, § 60: 3907–9/41 • 136–8, §§ 60–5: 3921–3/45 • 138, § 65: 3945–9/54 • 138, § 66: 3961/58 • 138, § 67: 3972/60 • 138, § 68: 3981–6/61 • 138, § 69: 3997–9/64 • 138, § 71: 4044–7/79 • 140, § 72: 4048–50/80 • 142, § 78: 3860f./23  
*VLazGal*, ed. Delehay, 583F: 881f./6  
*VLeoCat*, ed. Lатышев, 25,4–5: 2707/12  
*VLeontHier*, ed. Tsougarakis, 98,17: 2071f./30 • 38,4: 3088/44  
*VLuclun*, ed. Sophianos, § 74: 1472f./4 • § 75: 312/4  
*VMacarRom*, ed. Vassiliev, 148, left col.: 573/13 • 152, left col.: *d* 3  
*VMichMal*, ed. Petit, ch. 20: 42ff./5  
*VNicolStud*, PG 105, 880A: 2489f./9 • 908B: 1953f./1  
*VNikMet*, ed. Sullivan, ch. 52,7: 98f./2 • ch. 59,47–8: 2400f./2 • ch. 59,50–2: 1521–3/11  
*VNil*, ed. Giovanelli, ch. 17: 40/2 • ch. 48: *f* 1 • ch. 99: 1501/1  
*VNiph*, ed. Rystencko, 4,8–9: 4/1 • 7,10–11: 29–31/6 • 7,25ff.: *ibidem* • 10,7–8: 2182f./14 • 10,14–17: 3468–73/6 • 11,18: 3466f./4 • 12,2–3:



- 2536/11 • 12,4–25: 34–42/4 • 15,12ff.: 1472f./4 • 16,12–19: *ibidem* • 16,17: 973/10 • 21,7ff.: 4259/8 • 25,6ff.: 2215f./1 • 42,5: 4164/7 • 42,28: 234–6/2 • 46,22: 3392f./90 • 62,26–63,4: 518–46/4 • 65,24ff.: 3075–8/41 • 65,25: 4164/7 • 73,23: 1529f./12 • 76,26–34: 4371f./2 • 83,2: 1920/2 • 87,36–88,5: 2885f./2 • 88,15: 1778/7 • 95,24ff.: 2048/22 • 101,3–4: 55/8 • 104,3: 501/1 • 104,22–3: 2164/7 • 106,3: 1973/6 • 110,25–6: 1059f./4 • 109,31ff.: 2689–93/6 • 115,28ff.: 148–58/7 • 116,12ff.: 3786f./6 • 118,32: 2061/26 • 122,3–4: 1908/8 • 124,18: 2182f./14 • 129,11–12: 1042f./1 • 132,31: 3088/44 • 142,25–7: 3468–73/6 • 154,19–20: 3817–20/6 • 165,5–6: 3407/94 • 165,32: *ibidem* • 165,32–3: 3420/95 • 177,26: 1920/2 • 183,14: 572, 585f./14
- VPetrAtr*, ed. Laurent, ch. 4,17: 863/2 • ch. 35,19–20: 402f./1
- VPetrAtrRetrCumMir*, ed. Laurent, ch. 97,4–6: 1501/1
- VPhantlun*, ed. Follieri, 14,1: 807/1
- VPhilar*, *BHG* 1512, ed. Vasiliev, 64,4–9: 3–8/1 • 79,16ff.: 2684–7/5 • 81,32–3: 2056f./25 • 85,23–4: 548f./7 • *BHG* 1511z, ed. Fourmy–Leroy, 161,14: 1239f./3 • 165,28: 3881/29
- VPHypatii*, ed. Ferri, 100,22: 1427f./3
- VSablun*, ed. Cozza-Luzi, 157: 1472f./4
- VStephlun*, PG 100, 1117D: 3941/53 • 1137C: 2620f./25
- VSymNT*, ed. Hausherr, ch. 45,20–1: 42ff./5 • ch. 56,24–5: 1914f./10 • ch. 80,3f.: 2377/8 • ch. 111,12: 2918/3 • ch. 115,3ff.: 2395–401/2 • ch. 133,25–6: 512f./2 • ch. 149,5: 2601–10/24
- VSymSal*, ed. Rydén, 122,19–20: 3190/64 • 123,14–15: 901/9 • 124,7, 18 etc.: 1107/2 • 125,2: 1243/2 • 133,21–3: 1307–11/3 • 133,3: 1260f./1 • 135,17: 2765/9 • 145,5: 2423/4 • 148,13–17: 1241–3/2 • 148,25ff.: 1451/8 • 152,3–4: 1185–8/1 • 153,14: 1228–30/2 • 154,27–155,4: 298–311/3 • 155,12: 2765/9 • 155,23ff.: 1937/8 • 156,21–2: 1335–45/7 • 160,10: 1738f./2 • 160,10–12: 1314f./6 • 160,19–23: 230/2 • 164,18: 1228–30/2 • 166,3–4: 2694/8 • 168,27: *e* 3, also in note to corresponding passage in version E
- VTheoctLesb*, ed. Delehay, § 14: 1970/4
- VTheodGrapt*, PG 116, 676A: 58/9
- VTheodSyc*, ed. Festugière, ch. 10,5: 1476/5 • ch. 135,3–5: 3997–9/64
- VTheodThess*, ed. Kurtz, 4,17–20: 3926/46 • 12,17–18: 1957–9/2 • 30,14–21: 117ff./1 • 30,12: 1472f./4 • 33,34–6: *ibidem*
- VTheophan*, ed. Kurtz, 4,12: 1472f./4 • 15,8–11: 1190–3/2 • 17–18: 1886/4 • 17,1–4: 4060/83 • 20,16: 1953–5/1 • 20,25–21,16: 117ff./1 • 21,12–13: 972/9 • 24,2: 3925f./46



## Dubious and unidentified Quotations

γέγραπται· Υἱὸς πατρὶ δίκαια λέγων θανάτῳ τελευτάτω, καὶ πατὴρ  
παρατυχόντος τινὶ πράγματι υἱοῦ πρόβλησις ῥαγήσεται 1020–2

ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· Ἡ γυνὴ κατὰ νόμον κυρίου ζεύγνυται ἀνδρὶ  
καὶ συνάπτεται χάριν παιδοποιίας, οὐχὶ δὲ διὰ λαγνείαν 2242–4

ὥς φησὶ τις τῶν σοφῶν· τὰ ἦθη ὥς χρέα 2309

φησὶ γὰρ Ἑσδράς· ἄνθρωπος μὴ πορνεύων ἢ μοιχεύων θυμίαμα  
λογισθήσεται κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, ἀνὴρ δὲ πόρνος γυναικομανῆς ὡσεὶ κόπρος  
ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ κτλ. 2777

ἕτερος προφήτης λέγει· ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ὁ κατευθύνων τὰ ὕδατα καὶ ταῖς  
ἐπομβρίαις ὁ κατασπέρων εἰς βρόχθους ταῖς νεφέλαις τὸ ὄμβρημα 3165–  
7; Job 36:27, to which PG refers, is only slightly similar.

οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ προφήτης Ἡλίας ἐστὶν ὁ τῷ ἄρματι βροντῶν καὶ  
ἀστράπτων ἐν ταῖς νεφέλαις καὶ ὅτι δράκοντα καταδιώκει ... ἄνθρωποι  
γὰρ φρενοβλαβεῖς ἐξ οἰκείας διανοίας ταῦτα συνεγράξαντο 3174–8

καὶ πάλιν· ὁ χιὼν ἄλευρος ἐχρημάτιζεν 3180f.

κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα· εὗρεν ὁ σατανᾶς τὸν διάβολον 3208f.

οὐαὶ γάρ, φησιν ἡ γραφή, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, ὅστις ὑπάρχει κολάσεως  
ἄξιος καὶ ἐπαινεῖται καὶ δοξάζεται 3798–802

πρόσεχε ... ἃ σοι ἐντέλλεται ὁ μέγας Βασιλεῖος· ἵνα ἦς πατὴρ ὀρφανῶν,  
χηρῶν προασπιστῆς, ἀντιλήπτωρ θλιβομένων καὶ ὑπέρμαχος τῶν ἐν  
ἀνάγκαις d 235–7

## Proverbs

ὄνος γὰρ λακτίζων ἐπ'εὐθείας διὰ στενῆς ῥύμης οὐκέτι διελεύσεται 2682f.

ὃς οὐδέποτε, κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀγροίκων, δέδωκε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ αὐτοῦ  
θυμίαμα 3482

τοῦτό φασιν οἱ τῶν ἀγροίκων αἰνιγματώδεις ὅτι “σοί, ὦ νύμφη, λέγω, ἵνα  
καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πενθερὰ ἐνωτίζεται” 4151f.

## Vocabulary and Names

The vocabulary is selective, the list of names complete. Numbers refer to lines, those of the Appendices being marked with an italicized letter. Italicized numbers refer to the app. crit. An asterisk indicates that the word in question is missing in the dictionaries of Demetrakos, Du Cange, Kriaras and Lampe as well as in LSJ and *TGL*, although it may appear among the *athesaurista* collected by Mandelaras, Pezopoulos and Tougard. An asterisk in square brackets indicates that the word can be found in a dictionary, although not in the form it has in *VA*.

It may be noted that Du Cange recorded the vocabulary of *VA* on the basis of a MS called Mazarinianus, i.e. no. 7 in my list, as well as on the basis of Conrad Janning's text, although for unknown reasons he does not mention it. Du Cange's material reappears in *TGL*; hence it was borrowed by Demetrakos. Tougard, on the other hand, checked *VA* as printed in *AASS* independently, quoting many *athesaurista* which have since passed unnoticed. See further Rydén, "Zum Wortschatz," 222f.

With the appearance of the forthcoming new lexicon of Byzantine Greek by E. Trapp many of the following asterisks and question marks are likely to become superfluous.

ἄβαλα 2385

ἄββᾶς 2032

\*Αβελ *d* 95

\*Αβραάμ *d* 96 and 310 (E)

ἄβυσσος: ἄ. τῆς θαλάσσης in a vision of heaven 619; of sins 1840; of the air 3080; under the earth 4296–307; of the Trinity *d* 13; 3150

ἀγαθοεργία 2081, 2121, 3358, *a* 61

\*Αγαθόνικοι: τὸν ἅγιον \*Α., the church of St Agathonikos 2933

ἄγαλμα, in the Hippodrome 2493

ἀγαπάω: ἀγαπᾶς με; please, do me a favour 380; cf. Kekaumenos, ed. Litavrin, 214,10 (ed. Wasiliewsky–Jernstedt, 48,13f.) ἂν με ἀγαπᾶς, δός μοι

ἀγάπη, daughter of διάκρισις, mother of ἐλεημοσύνη 3357f.; ἡ ὑμετέρα ἄ. 420, 922, *a* 13f. and 155; ἡ ἐν κυρίῳ ἄ. = τὸ ἅγιον φίλημα 126



Ἄγαρ: τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς Ἄ. 382lf., 3834 (in the MSS sometimes written Ἄγαρ)

Ἄγαρηνός 799, 875, 889, 382lf., d 329 (E)

ἀγγελικός 2854

ἀγγελος *passim*; differing from demons 3288–95; guardian angels 1059, 1327, 1976, 2072, 2300 etc.; angels of the Lord 1589, 2004 etc.; the angel of lightning 3212; evil angels 1464; angels of punishment 2248, d 101; fiery angels 3773f., 4119, d 101; the angel of corruption 2303; angels burning incense 4187ff., 4259f.

ἀγίασμα 3694

ἀγιασμός e 78

Ἄγια Σοφία: see ἐκκλησία, Σοφία

ἄγιος *passim*; of Andrew 260, 1185, 2390 (ἄ. τοῦ θεοῦ), 3087; ἄ. ἄ. ἄ. 1770; οἱ ἄ. 784, 898, 1119, 1642, 1759, 2267, 4371; τὰ τῶν ἄ. ἄ. 585

ἀγιωσύνη 1576; ἡ σὴ ἄ. 888, f 3

ἀγορά 748

ἀγοράζω, w. double acc. 359

ἀγορικός: κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἄ. 3482; οἱ τῶν ἄ. αἰνιγματώδεις 4151; cf. *VPhilar*, *BHG* 1511z, ed. Fourmy–Leroy, 133,1f. τὸν ἐπιχώριον καὶ δημοτικὸν λόγον

ἀγρυπνέω 1457, 2718, 4129, b 12

ἀγρυπνία 2135, e 52

ἄγχω: ἄγχη σκνιπευόμενος 2061

ἄγω: οὐκ ἄγει καιρὸς time does not permit 725f.

ἀγωγός = λαίμωξ or φάρυγξ 1367; the lightning prepares τὸν ἐν νεφέλαις ἄ. for the thunder 3157

ἀγών, of spiritual struggle 86, 199, 1195, 1459, 1498, 2170, 2335, 2420, 2915, 3459, 4391

ἀγωνίζομαι, in spiritual sense 502, 730, 740, 805, 890f., 1218, 1232, 1629, 1792, 1846, 2080, 2275, 2281, 2319, 2418, 2468, 2753, 2776, 2916, 3216, 3710, 4195, 4259, 4391, b 12

Ἀδάμ 2996, 3369, d 141; see also πρωτόπλαστος

ἀδάμας unyielding 301

Ἀδελός: ἀναμέσον Δήλου καὶ Ἄ. (an apocalyptic pun) 3932f.

ἄδης 1064, 1928, 2307, 2398, 2401, 2406, 2692, 3499, 4072, 4300, d 76f. (etymology), d 287 (E), f 19

ἀδιακρίτως 4262f., d 52

ἀδιάντροπα shamelessly 3785

ἀδιάντροπος shameless 1508; also *VNiph*, ed. Rystenکو, 26,3, 47,6

\*ἀδιάτρεπος shameless 1508; cf. Kriaras s.v. ἀδιάντροπος and *VloEl*, ed. Festugière, 9,7 μετὰ πολλῆς διατροπῆς “with great embarrassment”

ἀδιάψευστος 3550

ἀειδής 2329

ἀειθαλής 524

ἀενάως 4156

ἀηδιάζομαι = ἀηδίζομαι 1072; cf. Demetrakos s.v. ἀηδιάζω and *VNiph*, ed. Rystenکو, 168,30

ἀηδών 1701, 1753

ἀήρ: ὑπεράνω τοῦ θεοῦ 3075, 3077; ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος 4294; ὑποκάτω τῆς ἀβύσσου 4301; in paradise 518; in heaven 629, 682; ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁ. 144, 1313f., 1363, 1804, 1808, 1814 etc.; ἐκρέματο εἰς τὸν ἁ. 417; ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁ. κρεμάμενος 668

Ἀθανάσιος, St Athanasios, Bishop of Alexandria 839

ἀθάνατος 2974, 2133

ἀθέατος 886, 4287

ἀθεία 2841

ἀθέμιτος 939

ἄθεος 3907

ἄθλησις, of St Thyrsos 3464; of St Akakios 3639

ἀθλοφόρος, of St Akakios 3670, 3705

αἰγιόμαλον goat's-hair cover 40, 277

αἴγλη 598, 680, 845, 1739, 1767 (τῆς αἴ. τῆς ἀνερμηνεύτου τῆς προσοῦσης θεῶ), *a* 35

αἰγλιαῖος *d* 14

Αἴγυπτος: at the end of time, Egypt will pay tribute again 3839; 4011 (Isa. 11:16)

αἰδώς: dat. αἰδῶ 808, 1159, 4332, *d* 34 (E); gen. αἰδῶ *d* 53 (E)

αἰθάλη: κόνιν αἰθάλης περικεχυμένοι, of sinners in Hades *a* 138

αἰθήρ = ἤēr 3020

Αἰθιοπία: ὁ Αἰθιοπίας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου κέρατος, referring to Alexander the Great 3908

Αἰθίοψ 45, 47, 67ff., 134, 136, 159, 316, 1504, 1800, 1854, 2090, 2471, 2485, 2542, 2543, 2625, 3468, *a* 108, 110 and 116

αἶθριος, of Daniel the Stylite 1846

αἵλουρος, of sinners 2330, 2366, *a* 70

αἰμομιξία 3479, 3968

αἰνιγμα: ἐν αἰνίγματι 4151

αἰνιγματώδης 4151

\*αἰνιγματωδός, v.l. for αἰνιγματώδης 4151

αἶξ: the Lord regards τὰς πόρνas ὡς τὰς αἶγας 2377; ὥσπερ αἶγα φωνάζειν 2817

αἰρεσιάρχης *d* 110

αἵρεσις *d* 109

αἰρετικός 2357, 2368, 3182, 3408

αἶρω: αἶρε ἐντεῦθεν = ἔρρε 471, 712, 1426

αἰσθητός 1925, 3808*f.* (cf. ἥλιος), 4172, 4276

αἰσθητῶς 326

αἰσχρολόγος *a* 148

αἰών 2932, 2943 etc.; ἐρμηνεύεται ἐκτεινόμενος ὧν ἀεί 2977; τὸ πολύμορφον πνεῦμα τῶν αἰ. 2988*f.*; οἱ ἀπέραντοι αἰ. 1575, 2947, *d* 5, *e* 77 (E); πρὸ αἰ. 2944*f.*, πρὸ τοῦ αἰ. 3329; ἀπ' αἰώνος 3993, ἀπ' αἰώνων 2409; ἐν τῷδε τῷ αἰ. *e* 6; οἱ ἐπτα αἰ. τοῦ κόσμου τούτου 2962; ὁ ὄγδοος αἰ. 2971; εἰς τὸν αἰ. 1877, 2292 etc.; εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰ. 4085, *e* 34

αἰώνιος 827 (ἐπίνοια, in difficult context); of the eternal punishment 3771*f.*, 3787, 4029, 4034; see also μονή, πῦρ, σκότος

ἀκαθαρσία 904, 1780, *a* 167

ἀκάθαρτος 1060, 2208, 2379, 3970; of unclean spirits 1167, 1326, 1590 (cf. πνεῦμα)

ἄκακία 3359

Ἀκάκιος, the saint and martyr 3648, 3683, 3686, 3728; ἀγιώτατος ἔξαρχος of CP *e* 66–72; his church at the Heptaskalon 3635, 3650; see also ἄμβων

ἄκακος 1633, 1984

ἀκαμάτης idler 1914*f.*, 3573, *d* 155; cf. *VPhilar*, ed. Fourmy–Leroy, 123, 1

ἄκανθα 1692, 2112, *a* 129

ἀκατάληπτος 812, 3076–82, 4284, *d* 11 and 19

ἀκαταληψία *d* 9

ἀκατανόητος 1736

ἀκατάπαυστα, adv. 553

ἀκενόδοξος 1640

ἀκηδία 1658

ἀκολασία 3868

ἀκολουθία 628, 1003, 3126

ἄκοσμος: ἄ. κόσμος *d* 10

ἄκρα end 2978, 3079, 4297, *d* 6

ἀκρατῶς with irresistible might 3873

ἀκρίβεια 22, 1645, 2863

ἀκριβολογέω take heed of, be on one's guard against? 899 (act., as *VGregent*, PG 86, 616A)

ἀκριβός *e* 50 (E)

ἀκροάομαι: 2 sing. ἡκροοῦ 2035

ἀκρόασις 5, 7

ἀκροατήριον: ὁ ἱερὸν ἄ. *a* 53



ἀκρογωνιαίος λίθος 556, 2678

ἀκρότομος 556

ἀκτημοσύνη 2064

ἀκτίς *passim*; of the Son 845ff.; of Andrew's celestial garment 1766

ἀκυρίευτος indomitable 497

ἄλας, as remedy for sexual desire 2725, 2745

ἀλάστωρ 3780

ἀλείφω 1473, 2861, 4194; see also χρίω

Ἀλεξάνδρεια: considered by some as the navel of Creation 3937

Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων 4052; see also Αἰθοπία

ἄλευρος = ἄλευρον: the snow was ἄ. 3180

ἀλήθεια: παρατετραμμένη ἐπ' ἀληθείας 1054; *similiter* 1308, 1331, 1408, 2149, 4262

ἀληθινός purple 664, 1770, 3685

\*ἀληθινοφορέω 3685

ἀλήθω: see μύλων

ἀλιτήριος, of demons 2564

ἀλάσσω: τὰ ἀλασσόμενά μου σκεπάσματα 1446

ἀλλεπάλληλα, adv. 3717

\*ἀλληλοεπιβουλία 3963f.

\*ἀλληλόληπτος 841; see note ad loc.

ἀλλήλων: ἔσονται ἀλλήλων ἐπιβουλαί 3963f.

ἄλλοιόω: οὐκ ἄλλοιωθεὶς τοῦ εἶναι θεός 3040

ἄλλος: ἄλλην ἄλλως ἀπελογεῖτο 1909

ἄλλοτε: ἐν ἄ. πάλιν 3759; same combination *Vioannic*, *BHG* 936, 31, by the editor written ἐν ἄλλω τε π.

ἄλλ' ὅτι = ἀλλά 4277

ἄλλότριος ὁ, of Satan 2611

ἄλμη 2726, 2744, 3153

ἄλόγιστα, adv. 3794

ἄλογον 1547, 2368 (cf. λαίμαργος)

ἄλυσος (sic) ἡ 152

ἄλώπηξ: the demon of fornication had a fox's eyes 318, of a prostitute 2211, of sinners in Hades 2330, the Lord regards τοὺς δολεροὺς ὡς τὰς ἄ. 2366

ἄμα σύν 4124

ἁμαρτία: οἱ τέσσαρες δράκοντες τῆς ἁ. 2171

Ἀμαστρα, seaport in Paphlagonia, ancient Ἀμαστρίς, modern Amasra 3769

ἁμβλυσώ *d* 147

ἁμβων, of the Theotokos ἐν τῷ Φόρῳ 1313; of St Sophia 2655; of St Aka-

- kios 3706, 3719; Epiphanius' name inscribed under the ambo of St Akakios 3715, *e* 68 (E); of the Holy Soros at Blachernae 3742
- ἄμπελος, in paradise 553
- ἄμπελών 1862, 1907; ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν ἐν ἁ. 3403; ἁ. κυρίου 2555, 2588
- ἀμύητος τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος 4149
- ἀμφίον 26, 1616, 1711, 1873, *d* 194 (pl. ἄμφια)
- ἄμφοδον 1261
- ἀνά: with gen. in distrib. sense 333
- \*ἀναβημάζω (?) *c* 24
- ἀναβρύω 3995 (v.l. ἀναβλ-), 2998
- ἀνάγνωσις, liturgical 1649, 1668, 1677, *d* 220
- ἀναγωγικός: ἁ. ῥημάτων 812
- ἀνάδοχος godparent *c* 9
- ἀναισθησία 312, 1270, 3540, 3569*f*.
- ἀναισθητέω 1047, 1253
- ἀναισθητος 2247 (κτῆνη), 3415 (τὸ ἁ. τῶν εἰδώλων), 3536 (of an idol), *a* 119 (of sinners in A's vision)
- ἀναισθήτως 1309, 1567, 2374
- \*ἀναισχυντιάζω = ἀναισχυντέω 2694
- ἀνάκειμαι be dedicated, w. πρὸς 464, w. dat. 2083, 4188, *a* 15; be lying 1284
- ἀνακεφαλαίδομαι 3821*f*.
- ἀνάκλησις: ἐπ' ἀνακλήσει κεκτῆσθαι τινα of God keeping an eye on somebody in order to recall him from sin 981
- ἀνάκτορον, in heaven 1734 (pl.)
- ἀναμέσον 3230, 3932
- ἀνάπανσις 200, 471, 629, 701, 2021, 2074, 2665, 2669, *e* 112
- ἀναπαύω bury 1518; med., rest 276, 3641, 3882
- ἀναπλήρωσις τοῦ ἑβδόμου αἰῶνος 4006
- Ἀνάπλους, where St Daniel the Stylite stood on his pillar 1846
- ἀναποδίζω draw aside 650
- Ἀναστασία, the saint and martyr 120, 128, 218, 219; her church 109*f*.
- ἀνάστασις 2241, 2975, 3408, 4106, *a* 2
- \*ἀναστραγγίζω seize by the throat (?) 404
- ἀνατολή: τὰ τῆς ἁ. μέρη 12 (cf. στρατηλάτης); κατὰ ἀνατολὰς 977, 2011, 2014, 3981, 4310, 4315, *e* 110*f*.; ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς 3833*f*.; πρὸς ἀνατολὰς *e* 104; ἐξ ἀνατολῶν 561, 675, 2097
- ἀναφάλας (vv.ll. ἀναφάλαις, ἀναφάλανδος) forehead-bald 142
- ἀναφορά 3702, 4331, *e* 25
- \*ἀναχυδιάζω 1309, 2694; also *VNiph*, ed. Rysteneko, 50,17 (ὑβρίζεν αὐτοῦς, ἀναχυδιάζων τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτῶν); cf. χυδιάζω

ἀναχώρησις 2065

ἀναψύχω 2901

Ἀνδρέας, Andrew the Fool, *passim*, first mentioned by name 49; d. 28

May at the age of 66 4388–91

ἀνδρειόμαι 2201

ἀνδριάς, of the column of Constantine the Great 3562

ἀνδρομανία 2164

ἀνδρύνομαι 3954, 4074, 4097

ἀνείκαστος 173, 532, 678, 991, 2509, 4275, *e* 39

ἀνεκτῶς patiently 2044

ἀνέκφραστος 725

ἀνελεής 1898

Ἀνεμοδούλιον (v.l. -ριον) the weather vane of Theodosios I 1943

ἄνεμος: winds are made of πνεῦμα 3015

ἀνενέργητος 3268

ἀνερμίνευτος 631, 1767

ἀνερυθριάστως 1243

ἀνερωτήτως 1732, *d* 281 (E)

ἀνηλεῶς 266

ἀνήλικος 3954

ἀνθοφόρος, 208, 496, 2118 (v.l. ἀνθη-), 219 (v.l. ἀνθη-)

ἄνθημα 519

ἀνθίζω 698

ἄνθραξ 933, 963, 1222, 4170, 4174

ἀνθρωπόμορφος 3030, 3031f.

ἄνθρωπος *passim*; κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄ. 2757; compared with iron 2919–22; ἡ

τοῦ ἄ. σύνθεσις 3018; ὀνομάζεται κτήνος θεοῦ λογικόν 3275

ἀνθρωπότης 3037, 3044, 3248, 3255, 3303, 3314, 4106

\*ἀνθυπόστατος 3048

ἀνίημι: aor. pass. ἀνέθην 1540 (v.l. ἀνή-), 1653 (v.l. ἀνή-), 2790

ἀνικανότης: ἡ ἐμὴ ἄ. 992, 2385, 4357, *e* 101 (E)

ἀνίσταμαι 2968, 3420, 4121

ἄνοια 1569, 3177, 3336

ἀνοίγω, intr. 4291

ἀνομία 1433, 1518, 1973, 3373, 3860, 3861, 3867

ἄνορμος: ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄ. 3070

ἀνταποδίδωμι 266, 269, 4018

ἀνταπόδοσις 715, 1902, 2760, 3225, *d* 121

ἀνταποκρίνομαι 3471

ἀντεπερώτησις 857

ἀντίληψις 723, 1013, 4335, *e* 64 (E)



- Ἀντιοχεύς, in an episode dated in the reign of Julian the Apostate 4203  
 Ἀντίοχος, Antiochos IV Epiphanes 3098; cf. note ad loc.  
 ἀντιπρόσωπος, of John the Theologian as representative of Christ 3191  
 ἀντίφημι reply 828  
 Ἀντίφορος 351  
 ἀντίχριστος 2372, 2517, 3197, 3270, 3959, 4014, 4025, 4069 (ὁ σατὰν ὁ ἄ.), 4083, 4109  
 ἀνυπερήφανος 1641  
 ἀνυπόδετος 468 (v.l. -δυτος)  
 ἀνυπόδητος 1546 (v.l. -δετος)  
 ἄνω: τὴν ἅ. 4297, 4316; cf. *VloEl*, ed. Festugière, ch. 28, 11  
 ἀνωφέλετος (v.l. -ητος) 2756, 3922  
 ἄξια title (of protospatharios) 11; office (of patriarch) 1646  
 ἄξων: οἱ ἄ. τῆς ψυχῆς 1927  
 ἀοίδιμος 436 (of Andrew), 4200, 4397, *e* 123  
 ὁράτος: τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἄ. 3080, 3088; σύστασις τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἄ., in definition of λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς 3329; 2909, 3251, 3613, 3916, *e* 49 and 67, *e* 69 (E)  
 ὁράτως 91, 735, 1127, 1516, 4190, *a* 24 and 71  
 ὁργιστος = ὁργητος 1640  
 ἄπαγε, w. gen. 1121; 'do not blaspheme!' 3040  
 ἀπαράκλητος 2248  
 ἀπαραμύθητος 944  
 ἄπαξ once and for all 3477; εἰ ἄπαξ τι ἐλάλησα if I happened to say something 3510  
 ἀπαστρέπτω 613, 965, 1613, 1736, 1851, 2912, 2917, 3160  
 ἀπαυγάζω 1476  
 ἀπαύγασμα 3168, 3173  
 ἀπεικάζω: οἷον νοῦς ἀνθρώπου ἀπεικάσαι οὐ δύναται and the like 184, 987, 4254  
 ἄπειμι (?) put, bring 3494, 3771  
 ἄπειρος 210 (χαρά), 464 (ἀγάπη), 698 (πυκνότης), 996 (ἡδύτης), 1846 (θαύματα) etc.  
 ἀπέραντος: see αἰών  
 ἀπερίβλεπτος 4299, 4302, 4307  
 ἀπερίγραπτος 1574, 4289  
 ἀπερίοριστος 4288, 4299  
 ἀπευχαριστέω 1488, 1497  
 ἀπήχημα 825 (in "philosophical" context)  
 ἀπλήρωτος 210, 3076  
 ἄπληστος 2692

ἀπλήστως 245

ἀπλκεύω put up at a place 765

ἀπό, w. acc. 1213, 3769, 3771; ἀπὸ κόπου 2058, 2483; ἀπὸ γραφῆς and the like 2025, 2126; ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως 2606; ἀπὸ θεωρίας 4164; ὡ βία ἀπὸ σοῦ 2736

ἀποβδελύσσομαι 4263, c 6

\*ἀπογλαίζω 1767, cf. \*ὑπογλαίζω

ἀπογράφομαι write off, despair of (= ἀπογινώσκω) 221f., 472

ἀπόδειξις 3811

ἀποδυσπετέω 188

ἀποειλέω = ἀποτυλίσσω 3749

ἀπόζω 2860; w. acc. 1036, 3799

ἀποθνήσκω: ἀπόθνησκε 483

ἀποκαθίστημι 2100, 3838, 4021

ἀποκαλύπτω 872, 967, 1185, 1188, 1785, 3084, 3849, 4198, d 193, e 147 (E), f 7

ἀποκάλυψις 1597

ἀποκρίνομαι utter 405, 4279

ἀπόκρισις utterance 883; commission, errand 1297, 1336

ἀποκρύπτω 456, 1796, 2601, 2635, 3607, a 158

ἀπόκρυφος 407, 917, 1626, 2288, 4286, 4386, a 114, e 102

ἀπόλλω: pres. part. ἀπόλλων 416; pres. ἀπώλει (sic) d (E) 368; perf. part. pass. ἀπωλεσμένος 2855; ἀπώλωλα ἄν I would have forgotten a 155

Ἀπόλλων 3409, 4197–9, 4204f.

ἀπολογέομαι answer 776, 1481, 1748, 1909

ἀπόλυσις dismissal, end of service 942, 955, 1661, 1663, 3546

ἀπονεκρόω 2593

\*ἀπόπειρος (?) d 162

ἀποπλάνησις deceit 4079, 4097

ἀποπτύω 324

ἀπόρρητος ineffable 598, 648, 740, 1579, 1606, 1738, 1786, 1889, 3133, 3134, 3808f., 4181, 4293, 4316, d 228, e 71; secret 3217, 4273

ἀποστασία 940

ἀποστήλβω, of Andrew's soul e 106

ἀποστοιβάζω = στοιβάζω 2055, 2857

ἀπόστολος 141 (John the Theologian), 1791, 1802, 1821 (Sts Peter and Paul, church of), 2016, 3105 (St Paul), 3135 (Christ), *ibidem* (νοητοὶ οὐρανοὶ οἱ ἅ.), 3145, 3265, 3324 (St Paul), 3348, 3442, 3445, 3673, 3976 (epistle), a 65 (St Paul), d 105, e 72

ἀποσυνέχω = γινώσκω 3189, d 184

ἀποσχοινίζω 4094

- ἀποτηρέω to have spotted, know 275, 344; await 2528  
 ἀποτυλίσσω 3749  
 ἀπόφασις: τὴν ἄ. κατὰ τινος ἐπενέγκαι (v.l. ἀπ-, fort. leg. ἐξ-) 1484, τὴν ἄ. κατὰ τινος ἐξενέγκαι 2003  
 \*ἀποφόρεμα 26; cf. Koukoules, "Νεοελληνικαὶ λέξεις", 240 (I owe this ref. to E. Trapp) and Kriaras s.v. ἀποφόρι  
 ἀποφράττω close 321; open up 4051; see also under "Language and Style"  
 ἀπροαίρετος disobliging 239, 1987  
 ἀπρόσιτος 2833, 4178, *d* 150  
 ἀπροσωπόληπτος 2700  
 ἀπρότουβον, see (\*)αὐτότουβον  
 ἀπώλεια: εἶναι τῆς ἄ. be dead 3960  
 Ἄραβία 3914, 3940  
 ἀργύριον 2259; ἀργύρια money 111; silver coin 2686  
 ἄργυρος 2068, 3412  
 ἀργυροῦς 3418  
 ἀρδέω = ἀρδεύω 552  
 Ἄρειος 857, 3302, 3332  
 ἀρετὴ 1110 (= ἐργασία), 1492, 1688, 2128, 2135, 2205, 2423, 2913, 3311, 3312, 3357  
 ἀρὴν: οἱ γλυκύτατοι ἄ., of hermits 3958  
 ἀριθμέω: (εὐωδίᾳ) οἶαν τις ἀριθμῆσαι ... οὐ δύναται 987  
 ἀριστέρος 3715  
 ἀρίστευμα 8  
 ἄριστος: ἄρτος so interpreted 4281  
 ἄρκος 357  
 ἄρκτος 3661  
 ἀρκτός 586  
 ἄρματα πολεμικά arms 3928  
 Ἄρμενία 3940  
 Ἄρμενόπετρα, town of unknown location 3881  
 ἀρμονία 1716, 2306, 2398, 2965  
 ἄρουλα brazier 933, 962, 968  
 ἄρπαξ *a* 121  
 ἀρρενοθηλυμανής mad after men and women alike 3963; recorded by Lampe on the basis of Vassiliev, *Anecdota*  
 ἀρρεύστως 2945, 3327  
 ἄρρητος 518, 690, 1737, 4363, *e* 61  
 ἀρρύπτως undefiled 903  
 ἀρσενοκοίτης 1542, 2296, 2363, 3765, *a* 79  
 ἀρσενοκοιτία 1548, *a* 94



Ἄρσινόν (dat., spelt Ἄρσινόν, Ἄρσενεῶνι) 3880

Ἄρτεμις 3410

Ἄρτοπωλεῖα τά, the Bakers' Quarter 234, 372, 1224

ἄρτος 389, 851 (Trinity compared with ἄ.), 1233, 1398, 2082, 2185, 2687, 2779 (θεῶ ἡδύτατος ἄ. γενέσθαι), 4281 (cf. ἄριστος), *a* 40

ἄρτύω: ἐγώ σοι ἄρτύσω χύτραν 881f.

ἀρχάγγελος 2993

ἀρχή *passim*; principalities 2992, Christ as beginning 3301, ἄ. ὠδίνων 3809, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου 3862; see also βάλλω

ἀρχιεπίσκοπος: τοῦ ἄ. τὰ παιδία 1239f.; of Epiphanius *e* 124

ἀρχιερεὺς 1239f., 4397 (of Epiphanius)

ἀρχιερωσύνη 1597, 1646, *d* 229

ἀρχιστράτηγος *d* 126 and 254

ἄρχων: τῶν δαιμόνων 1519, τοῦ σκότους 2415, τοῦ κόσμου 2844, important person 2870, οἱ πένητες ἔσονται ὡς ἄρχοντες 3851

ἄρωμα 568, 4155, *e* 64

ἄς 1266, 1896, 1897, 1898

ἄσαρκος 513

ἄσβόλη 2930

ἄσβολόω: ἡσβολωμένος 67, 77, 3466f., *a* 68 and 107; ἡσβολωμένος is common in *VNiph*; for the connotations, see Polites, “Ἰβριστικὰ σχήματα,” 655–7

ἄσεβής 3780, 3885

\*ἄσεβήτρια (?) 3793

ἄσέλγεια 891, 1518, 3377, 3479, 3792, 3967, *a* 80

ἄσελγής 1549

ἄσμενος: ἄ. γυναῖκες, γυναῖα prostitutes 252, 299, 328, 1508; ἄ. κόρη 2441; ἄσεμνα ὡς δῆθεν εἰσπράττοντος, as typical behaviour of Andrew pretending foolishness 3760

ἄσέμνως 1515, 2818

ἄσθένεια: ἡ ἄ. τῶν Σοδομιτῶν 1056f.; 1277

ἄσθενέω 2386, 2811, 3778

ἄσθενής 3657

Ἄσῖα 3940, 4065, 4066 (*bis*)

ἀσκάλλω = ἀσχάλλω 1555 (ἀσκάλων), 2716 (ἔσκαλλε)

ἀσκέπαστος 468

ἀσκήτρια 3793

ἄσμα 570, 1754, 3741

ἄσπις, of sinners in Hades 2331; of demons *a* 90, 140 and 145

ἀσπλαγχνία 1967 (ἀσπλαχνία A)

ἄσπλαγχνος 1543

- ἀστασίαστος: τάραχος *ἀ. a* 120  
 ἄστεκτος 2986  
 ἀστήρ 1705, 1797  
 ἀστραπή 639, 644, 1762 etc.; its οὐσία explained 3167; *ἀ. τῆς θεότητος* 4348, 4358; ὥσπερ ἀστραπῆς εἶδος 169; (ὡς) εἶδος ἀστραπῆς 498, 610, 1340, 1675, 2668, 3748f., 4242; see also τάχος  
 ἀστραπόκανστος 3876; recorded by Lampe on the basis of Vassiliev, *Anecdota*  
 ἀστραπόμορφος 1765f., 1767 (cf. σκοτεινόμορφος); *VBaslun*, fols. 107, 305<sup>v</sup>, 325<sup>v</sup>, ed. Veselovskij, 42, 137, 153; *VNiph*, ed. Rystenko, 100,20; see also Demetrakos s.v.  
 ἀστραπούφαντος 514  
 ἀστράπτω 490, 514, 610, 640, 702, 1200, 1738, 3200, 3293, 3686, 4090 (subj. Antichrist), *e* 63  
 ἄστρον 2332  
 ἄστν 1861 (in a paraphrase for προάστειον)  
 ἀσύγκριτος 867, 959, 1315, 1576, 1892, 2973, 4376, *d* 181, *e* 43, 48 and 94  
 ἀσυνείκαστος 4275  
 ἀσυνέτως 293  
 ἀσύνθετος (λαός) 3943  
 ἀσυντέλεστος 2976  
 ἀσχάλλω: ἀσχάλλων 1555, ἡσχαλλε (vv.ll. ἔσχαλλε, ἔσκαλλε) 2716  
 ἄσχημος 3488  
 ἀσχημοσύνη 327  
 ἀσώματος, of God and the celestial powers 1755, 2853, 2981, 2982, 2995  
 ἀσωτία 322, 2168, 2299, 3954, 3967, *a* 121  
 ἄσωτος 483, 1777, 2215, 3481, *a* 78  
 ἀσώτως 3869  
 ἄτε 1782, w. dat. 2957; cf. Patricia Karlin-Hayter, *VEuthymPatrCP*, 234  
 ἀτελεύτητος 2976 (κόλασις); see further αἰών  
 ἀτίθασος 3906  
 ἀτόπημα 1089  
 αὐγάζω 663, 964, 1476, 3159, 3567, 3752  
 αὐγούστα, wife of Leo I 1847  
 αὐθέντης *e* 32 (E)  
 αὐλέω, of bird song 535  
 αὐλή 1192  
 ἄυλος 654, 2982, 4170, *d* 6  
 ἄυπνος 740, 3732  
 αὐρα: αὐ. ἡλιακή 1731; θεότητος αὐ. 3076–82; 3821f., *d* 14

\*αὐρήλιος, a song-bird 533; cf. med. Lat. *auriolus*, for which see Blaise, *Dictionnaire*, 84 (I owe this ref. to E. Trapp)

αὐτεξούσιος: ὑπάρχων ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ αὐ. 2278

αὐτοματί 1303

αὐτός: ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό 2939, 4166

αὐτοψί 421

(\*)αὐτρότουβον (for ἀφτρότουβον, vν.ιι. ἀπτρότουβον, αὐτότρουβον, αὐτρότρουβον, ἀπτότρουβον; the form ἀπρότουβον quoted by Du Cange s.v. τουβίν derives from MS F; noted by Tougard and Kriaras in the form ἀπτρότουβον) wick and holder, the latter in the form of a tube 2458, 2461, 2516, 2599, 2618, 2621; see further note 6 to 2458

ἀφαιρέω: ἀφείλασι (in pass. sense?) 1206

ἀφαντόω, pass., disappear 1396, 1591

ἄφατος 678, 1552, 1788, 4360, *e* 58, *e* 105 (E)

ἀφεγγής 3010

ἀφεδρών = πρωκτός 3494

ἀφηνιάζω 2693

ἀφόρητος 887, 1042, 1219, 1281, 3949, *a* 98

ἀφοῦρα smoke, fumes 1506; see note 3 ad loc.

ἄφραστος 581

ἄφωνος 80

ἄχανής 3077, 3999, 4298, 4307

ἀχειροποίητος 4041

ἄχλυσ, in the faces of sinners in Hades *a* 139

ἄχρονος 3318

ἄχρωμίζω (cod. ἄχρο-): ἄχρωμίσαι πρὸς τὸ ἀρπάσαι grab shamelessly 347

ἄχρωμος shameless 2487

ἄχρώμως 2480, 2487

ἄχυρα straw (?) 1937, 1942, 1943

ἀψίνθιον 188

ἄψυχος 2697; of idols 3413, 3415; of an icon 3535; see also ζῶδιον

βαβύζω 1508, 2818, 2820

Βαβύλας, the saint and martyr 4201

Βαβυλών 4045 (= CP)

βακχεύτρια 3962

βάλλω: β. ἀρχήν = ἄρχομαι (cf. Tabachovitz, *Études*, 56) 33; β. φυγὰς = φεύγω 242 (also *VNiph*, ed. Rystenکو, 17,24); φόβω etc. βαλλόμενος 1169, 1732f.; δέει βληθεῖς 1040; ἔβαλε σάσσειν καὶ τρέχειν 2707; β. πῦρ 3977; pour 4241; δρόμῳ ἔβαλεν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ *d* 243f.

βαπτίζω 3103



βάπτισμα 2619, 3835–8, 4135, 4149, *c* 5

Βαπτιστής: see Ἰωάννης

Βαρβάρα, a pious woman 3609

βαρετός burdensome 400, *a* 84

βασίλεια reign 9, 3843, 3915, 4005; empire 3909; ἡ β. τῶν Ῥωμαίων 3839; kingdom of heaven 1689 etc.; majesty, king 1828, 3825, 3849, 3885, 3919

βασίλειον imperial power 4049

Βασίλειος, St Basil the Great 4133, *d* 107, 234 and 235f.

Βασίλειος, the son of a poor woman *c* 12 and 14

βασιλεύς the emperor 1541; Constantine I 1795, 3560; Julian 4209, 4222; Leo I 11, 340, 1847; in heaven 178ff., 284, 1737ff., *d* 186ff.; in apocalyptic context 3836 (Ῥωμαίων), 3851 (οἱ μεγιστάνες ἔσονται ὡς β.), 3948 (οἱ τρεῖς β.), 4053 (β. ἐβδομήκοντα δύο)

βασιλεύω 3860, 3888–901, 3961, 4006, 4075; ἡ βασιλεύουσα the imperial city 1682 (see also πόλις)

βασilikός 177 (παλάτια), 517 (χρῶμα), 1763 (ὁμοίωμα), 1768 and 2881 (στέμμα), 3600 (βαφή), 3738 (πύλαι, in church), *a* 21 (στολαί, of angels)

βασιλίς, evil eschatological empress 3970; for β. τῶν πόλεων, see πόλις

βασίλισσα: ἡ β. τῶν ἐπουρανίων δυνάμεων 721; γυνὴ β., in a dream, representing Church 2881

βαστῶ = βαστάζω 360

βάτραχος, representing the evil and filthy 2495, 4057, *a* 74 and 130

βαττολογία 3280, 3642

Βηθλεέμ *d* 61

βῆμα sanctuary 1485

βία: ὡ β. ἀπὸ σοῦ 2736

βιβλίον 3976 (πάντα ἀπόστολον καὶ ἅπαν ἔγγραφον β.), *d* 179 (run on βίος)

βιβλος 3813, 4133, 4137; αἱ ἱεραὶ β. 4189, 4268

βίγλα watch 248

Βιγρίνος, a magician 2425, 2434 (vv.ll. Κιγρίνος, Βιρμιλιανός), 2511 (v.l. Κιγρίνος)

βικίον small bottle 4241

βίος 1635 etc.; said to be σκιὰ καὶ καπνός 1949f.; ὁ τῆδε β. 2392, *c* 31; saint's *Lives* 31, 1333, 1435; the *Life* of St Andrew 4395, *e* 121; ὁ β. καὶ πολιτεία of Andrew 872f.; property 3482

Βιρμιλιανός see Βιγρίνος

\*βισσήριον small βίσσα, bottle (-ήριον from ποτήριον?) 4236, 4241

βλακεία 1036, 2163

- βλάκευμα: κινήματα καὶ βλ., of the seductive gestures of a whore 2209  
 βλασφημέω 1133, 1286, 1446, 3461  
 βλασφημία 3539, 3540, 3835, *a* 59  
 Βλαχέρναι, district of CP 3732, 3733  
 βλοσυρός: ὄνος (?) 3886; πρόσωπα *a* 138; βλοσυρῷ τῷ ὄμματι 354, 781, 1052, 2142  
 βλοσυρῶς 1872  
 βοηλάτης 1262, 1265  
 βοθρίζω submerge in sin 2370  
 βολίς: ὡς βολίδα πυρός 3566  
 βοράδιον bee-hive 2690; also *VNiph*, ed. Rystenکو, 109,33  
 βόρβορος 1510, 2717, 2722, 2929, 3190, 3375, *a* 72 and 80  
 βορβορώ: βεβορβορωμένος 1982, 2727 (cf. χρίω), *a* 69f.  
 βορρᾶς 572  
 βουβάλα 3183  
 Βοῦς, Forum Bovis 876 (τὸν τοῦ Β. τόπον)  
 βροντάω 3121, 3136, 3138, 3143, 3175, 3212, 4090  
 βροντή 3121, 3124, 3126, 3127, 3134, 3137, 3139, 3146, 3156, 3872, 3875; υἱὸς βροντῆς, ὁ τῆς βροντῆς υἱός 3137, 3739  
 βρωμερός = βρωμώδης  
 βυθίζω: ἡ βεβυθισμένη μέθη ruinous drunkenness 2164f.  
 βύθιος 1585 (ὁ β. δράκων)  
 βυθός 2842 (λήθης βυθοῖ), 4301–3  
 βύσσος: διὰ β. καὶ πορφύρας 648, 1476, 1767, *a* 21f.; πορφύραν καὶ β. ἐξαστράπτων 671  
  
 Γαβριήλ, the archangel Gabriel 2994  
 γάγγραινα, a whore 2209; of the evil eschatological woman 3987  
 Γαλατία 3940  
 γαλήνη 2938  
 γαληνόμορφος 574, 3075, *e* 56  
 γαληνός 2908, 4293  
 γαληνότης 551, 574  
 γαστρίζομαι 2270  
 γαστριμαργέω 2758  
 γαστριμαργία 2164  
 γεγήθησις 1510; noted by Du Cange from the prologue of *VA*, where it occurs in *D*, hence also in *AASS* and *PG*  
 γέεννα 905, 1058, 1066, 1074, *d* 281 (*E*)  
 γελάω 1515f., 1939, 2314, 2683, 2740, 2758  
 γελοιάζω 1168, 2666, *a* 182

γελοιαστής 1350, 1358

γέλοιον 857, 1170, 1230, 1403, 1508, 1899, 2378

γελοιωδώς 303

γέλως 155

γένος: see ξανθός

γέρων: γ. τις 142, 1941; τίμιος γ. 149, 159f.; γ. Αἰθίοψ 134, 2471; γ. πεπολιωμένος Ἀγαρηνοῦ σχήματι 875

γῆ *passim*; ὑποκάτω τῆς γ. 2328; ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς ὕδωρ 4299f.; ἐκείθεν ... τῆς γ. κατὰ ἀνατολὰς πολλὰ ὕδατα φωτεινά 4315f.; οἱ πίνοντες τῆς γ. 2681; ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γ. ... ἀνατελεῖ 3856f.; οὐαὶ δὲ τῇ γ. 3876

γῆϊνος: τὰ γ. 1683, 3830, 4262f.

γηπονικός: ἐργαλεία γ. 3832

γίγνομαι *passim*; γεγόνει in fut. sense 385; γεγνώσης = γεγонуίας 580, cf. Psaltes, *Grammatik*, 215

γινώσκω *passim*; γ. τῷ πνεύματι 375, 1870, 2813

γλυκασμός 576

γλυκύς *passim*; opposed to πικρός 194ff.; of Epiphanius 808, 1011, 1044 etc.

γλυπτός: οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλ. 4208

γνωρίζω: οὐ γν. ἐκκλησίαν, of not going to church 3479f., 3508

γνώσις 826 (ἡ γν. τοῦ νοός), 1616, 3266

Γόμορρα 3835

γούλα 1912

γραῖδιον: γυναικάριον γρ. 2273

γραῖς 752, 753, 779, 799

γράμμα: τὰ ἱερὰ γρ. 18, c 23; ἀληθινὰ γρ. 1770; σκοτεινὰ γρ. 1972; τὰ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα στοιχεῖα τῶν γρ. 4275f.

γραμμίζω *clothe*? (τὴν ψυχὴν) 1617; cf. *De cer.*, ed. Reiske, 573, 17

γραῦς 781

γραφὴ, writing 22; Holy Scripture 30, 1257, 1838, 2025 (ἀπὸ γρ. πείθειν), 2028, 2126, 2267, 2777, 3013, 3266, 3313, 4273, 4279; τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γρ. 3887; γρ. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος φερομένην 1971

γράφω: γέγραπται 1020, 4196; ἐγγέγραπτο ἀληθινὰ γράμματα 1770; ἃ οὐκ ἐξὼν γράφειν 3474; ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγγέγραπτο *a* 111; ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἔγραφε *a* 143

γρηγορέω 2776

Γρηγόριος, St Gregory of Nazianzos 2971, *d* 107

γρόνθος fist 771

γυμνός 86, 276, 332, 334, 430, 467, 712, 1005, 1009, 1042, 1238, 1452, 1888, 2542, 4340, *a* 105 and 115, *e* 40

γυμνότης 1545



γυμνώω: γεγυμνωμένος 1028, 1039, 1651, 1897

γυναικάριον 2273

γυναικεῖος 1256; cf. περιεργία

γυναικομανής 2777

γύναιον: ἄσεμνα γ. 1508; γ. δυσώδη 2723; γ. αἰσχρόν 3961; γ. πενιχρόν c 4 and 92

γυνή *passim*; γ. μιμᾶς 2207; τὰ σκοληκόβρωτα πάχη τῶν γ. 2215f.; ὁ ἐμβλέψας γ. πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμήσαι αὐτήν 2220; μὴ ὁ διάβολος ἐποίησε τὴν γ. 2223; γ. σεμνὴν καὶ ἐνάρετον 2237; ἐπιθυμία τῆς γ. 2871; ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδάμ ὠκοδομήθη ἡ γ. 3368f.; ἐπτα γ. ζητήσουσιν ἓνα ἄνδρα ἔχειν 3951f.; cf. ἄσεμνος, βασίλισσα

γυρεύω *d* 373 (E)

\*γυρόβολος: γυροβόλῳ εἰδέα *d* 10

γυροβολῶ rotate 79f., 3996 (quoted by Lampe from Vassiliev's *Anecdota*); cf. *VNiph*, ed. Rystenکو, 34,17 (the icon) ἐγυροβόλει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος

γύρος: αἶρειν εἰς γύρον (sic) 75; ἀρπάζειν γύροις or εἰς γύρους 78f.

γωνία: γ. τοῦ ἐμβόλου 254, 476, 1254; ἐν ταῖς γ. παρεδρεῦειν 1062; περιέναι τὰς γ. 2675

δαιμονάω 92, 222, 313, 765, 773, 2368

δαιμονιάρι(ο)ς 287, 313, 862, 1406, 1652

δαιμονιάω 222

δαιμονίζομαι 1373, 2450

δαιμονικός 1187, 3481, *a* 139

δαιμόνιον 136, 799

\*δαιμονολαγνεῖα 2244

δαίμων *passim*; πονηρὸς δ. 481, 752, 777f., 2025, 2485, 2537, 2747, 2796f. etc.; ὁ κατάρατος δ. of the devil 1376; πικρὸς δ. 3762; ἄορατοι δ. 3378f.; δ. τῆς πορνείας 315f., 2715; δ. τῆς πλεονεξίας 3397; δ. τῆς ἀσωτίας 321f.; βαβύζων δ. 2820; δ. τῶν λεγομένων πυρρῶν 2558f., οἱ πυρράκεις δ. 2562, τῶν πυρρῶν δ. 2589f.; χιλίαρχοι δ. *a* 89; πλήθος δ. 134; σπήλαια δ. 3888–901; δαιμόνων φαντάσματα 2513f.; τὴν τῶν δ. δυσωδίαν καὶ μείωσιν 2515; θυσία δαιμόνων 2517f.; τῶν χριστιανῶν ὑπάρχουσιν ἀχώριστοι οἱ δ. 2636f.; the demon that Andrew was believed to have 329, 365; ἀπὸ δαιμόνων under the influence of demons 1839, 1932, 2878; demons tell magicians what they know 2643; Arius struck with madness τῇ φρενοβλαβίᾳ τῶν δ. 3335f.; Satan keeping watch with his demons 2809; ὁ πονηρὸς δ. ὁ ἀντίχριστος 3958f.; the Antichrist and his demons 4118; the demon transforms a snake into a dragon 3201ff.; the soul of a sinner is black as a demon 3391; God has

- ordained us to fight the demons 2775; τὸν Πύθειον δ. τὸν ἐν τῇ Δάφνῃ, of Apollo 4197f.; see also συμπεριφέρω, συνδαίμων
- δάκνω: δαχθεῖς 3619
- δάκρυ 226, 914, 1210 etc.
- δακρύω 2532, 4139
- Δάν 3958f. (spelt Δᾶν); the Antichrist will rise from the tribe of Dan 4069
- Δανιήλ, St Daniel the Stylite 1845
- δαρμός flogging 156
- δασύς: dat. fem. δασέα 4311
- Δαυίδ, the prophet David 2648, 2659 (in a vision in St Sophia), 3057, 3201, d 44–60
- Δαφναῖος, epithet of Apollo 4204f.
- Δάφνη, Daphne at Antioch 4198 (in an episode taking place in the reign of Julian the Apostate)
- δέησις *passim*; Andrew thanks God for hastening εἰς τὴν δ. αὐτοῦ 1593
- δεῖ: δέοι 1060, 1120, 1387, 2429, 2499, 2524; δέον (v.l. δέοι) 2499; τὴν δέουσαν ἐντολήν 1335
- δεξιὰ (χεῖρ) 1302, 1729, 1771, 1889, 2043, 3840, 4363
- δεξιός 356, 657, 968, 1173, 1344, 3072, 3347
- δέομαι, w. dat. 3674, 3689; δέομαί σου 1131, 1579 etc.
- δέος 1040, 1748, 1788, 2414, 2788
- δέρρις 638
- δέρω 3779
- δεσμωτήριον 2329, 4212, 4222
- δέσποινα, of the Theotokos 2670, 3743; of Theognostos' wife 24
- δεσπότης, of God or Christ 180 etc.; of Epiphanius 1607, 2839, d 222; of Epiphanius' father 1147; of Theognostos 29, 94
- δεύτερος, the second apocalyptic youth 3934; see also δύο, εἰδωλολατρεία, ἔλευσις, καταπέτασμα, στερέωμα, φορά
- δέω, in magical practice 2463, 2547; δῆσει μεγάλως τὴν πόλιν keep in tight bonds (or, possibly, frighten) 3853; δῆσαι τὸν ὄνον, aor. imp. 2709
- δῆθεν: ὥς δ. 74, 113, 299, 345, 1573, 1954, 3760
- δηλάτωρ messenger 2786
- Δῆλος 3932; cf. Ἀδηλος
- δημηγορία 1160
- δήμιος 2248
- δημιουργέω 2982, 2991, 3015
- δημιούργημα 2935, 2979
- δημιουργός 1574, 3099
- δῆμος 857
- δημοσία ἡ: see δημόσιος

δημόσιος: δ. ὁδός 1004, 3463, 3891f.; ἡ δ. στράτα 3463, 3888–901; ὁ δ. ἔμβολος 3461f., b 2; τῷ δ. φόρῳ 3559; δ. τόπῳ 2205f.; δημοσία ἢ main street 1495, 1907, 3463

δημοσίως 1222, 3956

διὰ: δ. δύο ἡμερῶν καὶ τριῶν 397f.

διαβαίνω pass by 119, 645, 766 etc.

διάβημα: τὰ νοητὰ δ. τῆς καρδίας 1927

διάβλεψις 1172; cf. διορατικός

διαβολικός 1285

διάβολος 37, 1423, 1533 etc.; σατὰν διάβολος 3659; of Julian the Apostate 3888–901

διάδημα 3919

διάθεσις 231, 997, 2163, 3710

διακινέω 521

διάκονος 2836, d 186; of Raphael 2782, 2832

διακρίνω 3351

διάκρισις 3351ff.: shows man the good way 3355f.; is the first of all virtues 3357; gives birth to ἀγάπη etc. 3357–60; defined as νοῦς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος 3360f.; ἅπαν νόημα ζυγοστατοῦσα 3363

διάλεκτος 1107, 1162, 1196

διάλεξις 816, 1081

διάλιθος 514, 2882

διάνοια 453, 571, 942, 1045, 1412, 2432, 3178, 3361, 3364 (*bis*), 4353; νοῦς καὶ δ. and the like 667, 954, 1257; τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ δ. 540f.; τὴν θεωρίαν τῆς δ. 658f.; τὸ νοερὸν τῆς δ. 823, d 1f.; ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ νοὸς καὶ τῆς δ. ἡ ὄρασις 826f.; τῷ νοερῷ ὁμματι τῆς δ. 1155; τῷ ὀπτικῷ τῆς δ. 4303

διανοίγω: διανοιγόντων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔνδοθεν ὀφθαλμῶν 1599, *similiter* 2089, 3564f.; διήνοιξε ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ παιδὸς 2560

διαπαίζω d 278

διαπτύω 480

Δίας, Zeus 3409

διασημεῖω 2664

διάταξις e 29 (E)

διανγάζω a 18

διάυγεια 844, 2653

διανγής 4288

διαφωνέω 79f.

διαχλευάζω 1881

διάχρυσος interwoven with gold, golden 516, 1766, 1817, 4237, 4241

διδασκαλεῖν 18



δίδωμι attack 3820; δώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις πόλεμον 3924; δ. κόσσον 288f., 1923; δ. μάλιστα 152; strike 496, 1247; δ. τὸ πρόσωπον turn 3833; δ. τὴν ἄνω 4316; forms: συνδώσας (or συνδόσας) 302; ἐδίδοσαν 1233, 3567

διεξέρχομαι read aloud 4160

διέρχομαι pass by 410, 614, 1264, 1284 etc.

δίκαιος; γέγραπται· υἱὸς πατρὶ δίκαια λέγων θανάτῳ τελευτάτῳ 1020f.

δίκην, w. gen. 1395f., 3365; w. part. 4060

δίκην λαμβάνω argue 2845, cf. 1974

διοδεύω pass (by) 550, 569, 878, 1730, 1799, 1835

διορατικός 1963, *d* 252 (neut. as subst.); cf. διάβλεψις

δοξολογία: ὀρθρίζειν εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δ. 2137; ἄϋπνος δ. at Blachernae 3732; cf. ὕμνος

δοῦλος: πόσους κρυπτοὺς δ. ἔχει ὁ θεός 1310, 1332

δραγάτης vineyard custodian 2555, 2587; cf. I. Genov, "Vorbereitung des Weins und Weinsorten in Byzanz," *Études balkaniques*, 25 (1989), 114–23, esp. 117

δράγμα, f.l. for δρᾶμα 3659

δράκων: ὁ βῦθος δρ. 1585; ἐκτινάξας σε ἐκ τῶν τοῦ δρ. ὀδόντων 2120; ὁ θλίβων σε δράκων 3691; ὁ τῆς φιλαργυρίας δρ. 2052f., 2073; οἱ τέσσαρες δρ. τῆς ἁμαρτίας 2171; ὁ δρ. ... ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων 2843f.; ἑκατόνταρχος δρ. 3617; of Antichrist 4096; does Elijah pursue the dragon during the thunderstorm? 3174–6; how a serpent is transformed into a dragon 3201ff.; 2050, 2858, and elsewhere

δρᾶμα, of the devil's evil plotting 3659 (cf. S. Linnér, *Syntaktische und lexikalische Studien zur Historia Lausiaca des Palladios* [Uppsala, 1943], 113ff.)

[\*] δραξύς? 890; quoted by du Cange in the form δράξης

δραστικός 950

δριμύσσω 2733, *f* 18

δρομεύς: A. is called ὁ καλὸς δρ. by Daniel the Stylite 1850

δρόμος 46; of the ascetic struggle 272, 1457; δρ. τῆς ἀγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς *a* 23; δρόμῳ ἔβαλλεν *d* 243f.; see also τρέχω

δροσισμός 526f.

δύναμις, of the powers of heaven 721, 1642, 1742, 1824, 2983ff., *e* 70; of God 982; of magical power 2433; and elsewhere

δυναμόω 4256

δύο 333 (cf. ἀνά), 397 (cf. διά); Andrew spends two weeks in paradise 501, 504; two crosses on the second firmament 627; 4238

δυσειδής 2326

δυσμή: ἀπὸ δυσμῶν 564, 3773; ἐπὶ δυσμάς 2014, 2502, *d* 5

δυσσεβής 4202

δυσωδέω 1505

δυσώδης 310, 1514, 1693, 2326, 2333, 2345, 2723, 3392

δυσωδία 319, 320, 948, 1512, 1555f., 2245, 2515, 2604, 2718, 4055, *a* 98ff.

δώδεκα: the emperor from Ethiopia shall reign for twelve years 3908; the sea shall be mixed with blood for a distance of twelve stadia 3951; δ. μυριάδες *d* 295f. and 300 (E); twelve tribes of Israel *d* 105f.; the apostles *d* 321 (E)

δωδέκατος 3006 (see τάγμα), 3842f. (τῷ δ. ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας), 3951

ἑάω: ἐῷ γὰρ λέγειν 3988

ἑβδομάς: dat. pl. ἑβδομάδαις 504; τὴν πρώτην ἑ. τῆς ἀγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς 926, 930, 943

ἑβδομήκοντα: ἐξελεύσονται βασιλεῖς ἑ. δύο 4053

ἑβδομος: ὥρα 3650; αἰὼν 4006

ἑγγραφον βιβλίον book of the Scriptures 3976

ἑγκαυστός: ἑγκαυστὰς εἰκόνας 3692

ἑγκράτεια 2923, 3311

ἑγκρατεύομαι 806, 926

ἑγκρατευτής *e* 73

ἑγκριτος 1873, *e* 50 (E)

ἑγχειρίδιον (v.l. ἑγχειρίον), handkerchief 972

ἔθνος 3818, 3820, *d* 80, 88, 95 and 97; ἔ. τῶν Ἰουδαίων 3256, 3261; ἔ. τῶν Ἑλλήνων 3262; ἔ. τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν 3821f.; of pagans, heretics etc. 3416, 4004, 4023; τὰ βδελυρὰ οἱ μυσαρὰ ἔθνη 4061, 4107, 4125; ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν ἑ. 3424f., (cf. 4077)

ἔθος 764, 926 etc.; τὰ διὰ Χριστὸν ἔ. ποιοῦντα 1869f.; τὰ ἐξ ἔ. σοι γινόμενα 949, τὰ ἐξ ἔ. αὐτῷ εἰσπραττόμενος 1005; ὡς ἔ. εἶχεν οἱ ἔχων w. inf. 1791f., 1920; ἄσχημα ἔ. εἰσπράττοντα 3488; ἔθνη καὶ σχήματα 3568; τὰ ἔ. τὰ ἐπουράνια 3350; cf. συνήθης

εἷ τι(ς) 2445, 2536, 4081, 4114

εἶδος 573, 626, 1750, 1822, *d* 215; ὡς(περ) εἶ. w. gen. 169, 185f., 969, 1675, 1765, 1767, 4234f.; see further ἀστραπή and cf. ὄρασις, τάχος; ἐν εἶδει w. gen. 3104, 3144; εἶ. τι ὡς χιόνα 183, similarly 207; ὡς τι εἶδος τὴν ζωὴν μοι ἐνέθηκε 499; εἶ. τι ὡς πυρρακίζον 3694, cf. 1514; χελιδόνος εἶ. 1701, cf. τὸ κατ'εἶ. τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν *a* 76

εἰδωλολατρεία 1980 (avarice is δευτέρα εἶ.), *d* 166

εἰδωλολάτρης 2361



εἰδωλον, of the giants on the doors of the Senate House at Constantine's Forum 1925; πᾶς ὁ κατάλογος τῶν εἰ. 3410; τὸ ἄψυχον καὶ ἀναίσθητον τῶν εἰ. 3415f.; 3343, 3349, 4208, f 15

εἵκοσι 344

εἰκόνισμα 197, a 134

εἰκών: εἰ. πατρὸς ἡλίου 847; a wonderful tree in heaven is an εἰ. of Andrew 1750, 1760; Andrew appeared as in an εἰ. 1762; what is a monk's garment an icon of? 2053; in a private house 2462, 2501, 2506, 2513 (ταῖς εἰκόναϊς), 2524, 2535, 2540, 2627; the blasphemer did not greet the εἰ. of St Thyrsos 3527; blasphemous outburst against St Thyrsos's icon 3535; ἀρπαγέντος τοῦ νοῦς μου ὡς πρὸς τὴν εἰκόνα 3541; we must not despise the εἰ. of the martyrs 3558; of Virgin and child with cherubim and seraphim on a golden vessel 3892; at the end of the world 3813; and elsewhere

εἰμί: εἷς = εἶ 1109 (vv. ll. ἦς, εἶ); see also ἔστω

εἶπον: (εὐωδία) οἶαν νοῦς ἀνθρώπου εἰπεῖν οὐ δύναται 55

εἰρήνη 1906 etc.; ἐν εἰ. ἀπείρω 3829; βασιλεύσει ἐν εἰ. 3909; κρατήσουσιν ἐν εἰ. 3922

εἷς: εἷς καθ' εἷς 1507; ἕνα καθ' ἕνα 151; ἐν καθ' ἐν 2984, 2987; ἐκ μιᾶς at the same time 2983; for ἐν μιᾷ etc., see ἡμέρα

εἰσοδιάζω (cod. εἰσδιάζω) 2691

εἰσπράττω = πρᾶττω (often med.) 885, 1005, 1978, 2759, 2885, 2891, 3488, 3760 (cf. ἄσμενος), a 85 (cf. ἔθος); in the phrase τί εἰσπράξομαι and the like 401, 483, 757, 2498; w. double acc. 2525

ἐκάστος: καθ' ἐκάστην every day 1930, 2442, 3597

ἐκατὸν πεντήκοντα: κρατήσουσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡμέρας ἑ. π. 3922f.

ἐκατόνταρχος 889 (the Arab was an ἑ. δαυμόνων), 3617 (ἑ. δράκων)

ἐκβάλλω, remove 149; take out 207, 971; ἔξω ἑ., put out 2817, etc.

ἐκβλυσις: μύρων ἑ. 4380, e 123 (E)

ἐκδημέω ἐκ τοῦ σώματος die 3475f.

ἐκδημία τοῦ σώματος 282

ἐκδουλεύω = δουλεύω 3573

ἐκεῖθεν, w. gen., beyond 4315, d 16 and 39

ἐκεῖ(σε): τὰ ἑ. 633, 647; τῶν ἑ. = ἐκεῖθεν 406, 636, 1254, 1763, 1950f., 2549, 4203f. 4374f. (γύναιον πενιχρὸν τῶν ἑ.); cf. ὧδε

ἐκθαμβέομαι 970

ἐκκαλύπτω 1048

ἐκκλησία *passim*; ἡ ἑ. τῶν ἐθνῶν 3423f.; αἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἑ. 4077; St Sophia in CP: ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλη ἑ. 1611, 4038f.; τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἑ. τῆς Ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ Σοφίας 2529f.; ταύτην τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ θεοῦ ἑ. 2670f.; τῆς μεγάλης ἑ. τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Σοφίας 3980; ταύτης τῆς μεγάλης ἑ. ... τῆς



- ἐπωνύμου τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας 4393f., *e* 155f. (E); τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐ. *a* 3; τῆς μεγάλης ἐ. τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων *e* 120f.
- ἐκκλησιαστικός: τῆς ἐ. καταστάσεως 1627f.
- \*ἐκκλησιοεμπαίκτης 3765; cf. \*κοσμοεμπαίκτης and, further, Χριστεμπαίκτης (*VloEl*, ed. Festugière, ch. 38,109)
- ἔκκριτος 2266
- ἐκνεύω 410, 1495 (ἀπὸ τῆς δημοσίας), 3463 (ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας στρατάς)
- ἐκπληξίς *d* 191
- ἐκπλήττω 598; pass. 217, 997, 1346 etc.
- [\*]ἐκριζεῖν (v.l. for ἐκριζοῦν) 3777
- ἐκστασις 96, 210, 418, 538, 560, 603, 731, 915, 1474, 1587, 1601, 1827, 1844, 3546, 3564, 4236, *e* 139 (E)
- ἔκταμα 4298
- ἐκτάσσω collect dues (fig.) 2092; cf. ἐτάζω, ἐξετάζω
- ἐκφαιλίζω 1165
- \*ἐκφεγγίζω 516; cf. ἐξαστράπτω and Lampe s.v. ἐκφεγγής
- ἐκών: ἐ. καὶ ἄκων ἀναγκάζομαι 2261, ἐ. καὶ ἄκοντες 3864
- ἐλαιόκλαδος: στέφανος ἐξ ἐλαιοκλάδων *a* 49
- ἔλαιον 1468, 1472, 2457, 2460, 2598, 2618, *a* 18, 37 and 52
- ἐλαχιστότης 447, 1115
- ἐλέγχω 1033, 1161, 1422, 4096, 4098
- ἐλεεινότης 1115
- ἐλεέω *passim*; inf. ἐλεᾶν 2006
- ἐλεημοσύνη 3309, 3358
- ἐλεήμων 1235, 1276, 1987, 2020, 2076, 3695, 4353
- ἔλεος 1324, 1609, 2187, 2282, 2583, 3957, 4323, 4392
- ἔλευσις: ἡ δευτέρα ἔ. 1899, 4079f., *d* 307
- ἐλλάμπω, of the Trinity *d* 277
- ἐλλαμψις: θεία τις ἔ. 1587, ἡ ἔ. τῆς τριάδος 4291f.
- Ἑλλην 3262, 3413, 3418, 3427, 3887
- Ἑλληνισμός 3887
- Ἑλληνιστί 18
- ἔμβολος 254, 274, 476, 739, 1254, 1261, 1295, 1380, 1815, 1832, 2743, 3461, 4369, *b* 2, *e* 85
- ἐμμανής 1389, 1670, 2146, 2803
- ἐμμέριμνος 3795
- ἐμπαίζω 245, 264; τὸν κόσμον 323, 920, 3573f.; ὁ κόσμος οὗτος ἐ. τοὺς ἀνθρώπους *d* 367f. (E)
- ἐμπαίκτης: ἐ. τοῦ διαβόλου 301; of a sinner 3779; the devil calls Andrew an ἐ. *d* 155; cf. ἐκκλησιοεμπαίκτης, κοσμοεμπαίκτης
- \*ἐμπαιξοσύνη (v.l. ἐμπαιζ-) 458

- ἐμπαρίημι: ἐμπαρεῖς εἰς μοιχείαν *b* 10  
ἐμπλήσκομαι 1357  
ἐμποδιστής 1663  
ἐμπρησμός 3838  
ἐμπροσθίως *a* 70  
ἐμπτύω 1458, 1940, 3763, 3987  
ἐμπυρίζω *a* 118 and 122  
ἐμφύρω 1030 (v.l. for παρενέφυρε), *a* 16 (αἰσχίστοις πάθεσιν ἐμφυρόμενοι), *a* 168 (ταῖς ἀκαθαρσίαις ἐμπεφυρμένων), *a* 176 (ἐμπεφυρμένε); cf. συμφύρομαι  
ἐμφυσάω 402, 786, 3180, *d* 174  
ἐμφύσημα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *d* 131  
ἐναλλαγή τῶν γλωσσῶν 297; τῆς ψυχῆς 998  
ἐνανθρώπησις 3042, 3257  
ἐναντίος, of Satan 1010  
ἐναπάρχομαι 33  
\*ἐναπειδον 1478; cf. SymNT, *Catéchèses*, ed. Krivochéine, II, 218 (I owe this ref. to E. Trapp)  
ἐναποκλείω 2330  
ἐναποκρέμαμαι *a* 72  
ἐναπορρίπτω 1452, 1514, 3787  
ἐναποσκοπέω 679, 1717, 1947, 3719, *a* 9, *d* 260  
ἐναποφράττω 1344  
ἐνάτη ἡ: τὴν προσευχὴν τῆς ἑ. 936  
\*ἐνδιεμβάλλω *a* 146  
ἐνεδρεύω 591, 1392, 1658  
ἐνδοξος 109, 179, 648  
ἐνειλέω: ὁ ... δράκων ... τῷ σῷ τραχήλῳ ἐνείληται 2073f.; cf. 969, 1651  
ἐνεκα 412, 4022  
ἐνεκεν 824, 894 etc. (*c.* 15 occurrences)  
ἐνέργεια 1187 (δαιμονική), 1285 (διαβολική), 1676, 3025, 3677 (τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου ἑ.)  
ἐνεργέω 1882, 2599, 4200, *d* 344 (E)  
ἐνήδοнос 536, 544  
ἐνηχέω, pass. 2657  
ἐνθεος 576 (ἐνθουν v.l. for ἐννουν), 997, 1016 (ἐνθους), 2905, *a* 85  
ἐνι = ἐστί 2746, 3033, 3048 (often in E); = ἔστι 2685, 3030, 3075  
ἐνιαῖος, of Divinity 854  
ἐνίετε, in odd context 2746  
ἐνκρυφίως (= ἐγ-) 411

- ἐννεός (always thus spelt) 561, 576, 598, 603, 969, 1200, 1342, 1503, 3718,  
*a* 166, *d* 260 and 262
- ἐν οἷς at last (?) 3512
- ἐνορδίνως 545
- ἐνσκήπτω, w. double dat. 940
- ἐντάσσω: what I have seen and heard τῷδε τῷ συγγράμματι ἐνέταξα 4398,  
*e* 125
- ἐντεῦθεν: εἰς ἐ. καὶ εἰς ἐ. 1808
- ἐντευξίς 1001, 4345, 4356
- ἐντρανίζω 679, 974, 1710, 1923, 2221
- ἐνυλος 3173, 4175, *d* 29
- ἐνύπνιον 176, 2770, *d* 202
- ἐνυπόστατος 3053, 3173
- ἐνώμοτος 871 (ἐνώμοτον conjectured for ἔννομον)
- Ἐνώς, Enosh (son of Seth) *d* 309 (E)
- Ἐνώχ, Enoch (son of Jared): still living and moving among many, al-  
 though no one knows him 3188; w. Elijah and the Son of Thunder, E.  
 will proclaim the deceit of Antichrist and the second coming of Christ  
 4078; will be killed 4086; *d* 95 (also E)
- ἐξάγω reveal 2317; bring forth (as opposed to create) 2939
- ἐξαίρετος: κατὰ ἐξαιρετωτέραν χάριν 3138
- ἐξαιτέω, med. 1438 (κατὰ σοῦ), 1441 (κατ' ἐμοῦ τὸν κύριον), 2889  
 (δρέπανον κατ' αὐτοῦ); pass. 2620
- ἐξακόσιοι: ἡμέρας ἐ. ἐξήκοντα 4068
- ἐξανάστασις 2347, 3142, 3299
- ἐξαρνος 3886
- ἐξάρχος *e* 72 (E)
- ἐξάρχων 907
- ἐξαστράπτω 671, 967, 1477, 1601, 3566
- ἐξεδαφίζω expel 3896
- ἐξετάζω interrogate, torture, afflict 1416, 1464, *e* 13; cf. ἐτάζω, ἐκτάσσω  
 and *VPetrAtrRetrCumMir*, ed. Laurent, 139, n. 2
- ἐξέτασις 1417 (χρηῖσαι αὐτῷ εἰς ἐ.), 1482, 2826
- ἐξήκοντα ἕξ: A. died ἐ. ἔτεσι τὸν ἀγῶνα κρυπτῶς διατελέσας 4390f. (v.l.  
 ἐξήκοντα πρὸς ἕξ *e* 117)
- ἐξηχία 315, 458
- ἐξηχος, of Andrew 114, 222, 267, 270, 300, 457, 510 (Andrew calls him-  
 self ἕ.), 1227, 1308, 1354, 1932, 2662, 2677, 2683, 3573f.; Andrew calls  
 others ἕ. 339, 1408, 1413, 1925, 2874; also 262, 364, 2148, 3719
- ἐξίσταμαι 90, 436, 506, 570, 577, 693, 701 (w. acc.), 801, 883, 977, 1201,  
 1308, 1330, 1788, 2024, 2094, 2455, 2509, 2520, 3085



- ἐξόδιον funeral procession 1499, 1502, 1509, 1524, 1534, 1571, 1867  
 ἐξορκίζω 2479  
 ἐξορκισμός 2548  
 ἐξουθενώ, pass. 1133  
 ἐξουσία 1174, 2239, 2512, 2821, 4187; αἱ ἐ. the angelic powers 2992, *e* 69  
 ἐξυπηρετέω submit oneself (to hardship) 944  
 ἐπαίρω = ἀπαίρω (?) 3924, 3936; take off 1886; εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἐπαρθέντα 3566; ἐ. ὀργήν, θράσος 1424, 2714  
 ἐπανάκειμαι 3831, *d* 55  
 ἐπαναλαμβάνω = ἀναλαμβάνω 1481  
 ἐπανάμνησις memory 1466  
 ἐπαναπαύομαι rejoice 1756  
 ἐπανατίθεμαι offer up 1755  
 ἐπανεδραμον, of wrath, be directed against 1130  
 ἐπανθέω 1125 (ἡ χάρις), 1399 (ἰουλος)  
 ἐπάνω (ὁ) *d* 241 and 251  
 ἐπαοιδός *a* 112  
 ἐπαπειλέω, med. 801, 804, 885  
 ἐπαπορέω = ἀπορέω 1272, 2429, 4184  
 \*ἐπαπόρρητος = ἀπόρρητος 3082  
 ἐπάρατος 1134, 1424  
 ἔπαρχος 4210, 4211, 4216  
 ἐπασφαλίζω med. ἐπεσφαλίσατο (for ἐπη-) 1372  
 ἐπασχολέομαι = ἀσχολέομαι 3459  
 ἔπαυλις; ἀγαθαὶ ἐ. 2202  
 ἐπάχθεια 769  
 ἐπεῖδον = εἶδον 2013  
 ἐπερείδομαι lean over or against 935, 968; cling to 1207; gaze at 1697  
 ἐπευφημίζομαι ἐν = εὐφημίζομαι ἐπὶ be much praised for 1953f.  
 ἐπευχαιριστέω = εὐχαιριστέω 1488, 1497  
 ἐπεύχιον rug 1190; cf. Haldon, *Three Treatises*, 204  
 \*ἐπιβλακεύομαι be fond of luxury 2309  
 ἐπιβραβεύω 163  
 \*ἐπιβρόντησις 3166  
 ἐπιγράφομαι 815, 2175  
 \*ἐπιδονάζω, of birds singing 553  
 ἐπιληψία 1257  
 ἐπιμελέομαι 946, 3716  
 ἐπιμιξία 2370  
 [\*]ἐπινίκα = ὀπηνίκα *a* 84 (C); cf. [\*]ἐφηνίκα  
 ἐπίξανθος 1036

\*ἐπιπαιγνιάζω flirt 2472; cf. παιγνιάζω, ὑποπαιγνιάζω

ἐπιποθέω = ποθέω 381, 1274, 1643, 2935

ἐπίσημος 3960

ἐπισκέπτομαι visit the sick 118f., 2384, 2784, *e* 31

ἐπίσκεψις appearance, help 130, 1791; of an icon of the Virgin 1469; visit to the sick 2386, 3489

ἐπισκιάζω: πῦρ ... ἐπισκιάζον πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς 3902f.; *e* 67 and 70, *e* 116 (E)

ἐπίσκοπος 385, 3183, *c* 24

ἐπίσταμαι *passim*; πόθεν οὐτος ἐ. ταῦτα 1412f.; πόθεν ἐ. θεόν 1932

ἐπιστεγάζω 3055

ἐπιστροφή 1321, 2324

ἐπισυχνάζω 3711

ἐπιτέρπω, act. 1706

ἐπιτίθεμαι: ταῦτα τοῦ ἀλαζόνος ἐπιτιθεμένου 950, 2040

Ἐπιφάνιος, Andrew's confidant and pupil, *passim*; first mentioned 371; son of John 879; 18 years old 806f.; predestined to become Archbishop of CP 383–5, cf. 4325–7, 4397; will become a confessor 4327f.; his name inscribed at the ambo of the church of St Akakios 3714f., *e* 65–70 (E); said to be the author's informant 4396f.; plays the principal part in several episodes: 816ff., 922ff., 2125ff., 2714ff., 3615ff.

ἐπιφλύζω burst out 950

\*ἐπιφύρομαι: ταῖς ἀναιδεαῖς ἐπιφυρόμεναι 1178; see also J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode* (Paris, 1977), 309

ἐπιχρεμετίζω: ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφαῖς ἐπιχρεμετίσουσιν 3869

ἐποδύρομαι 1535

ἐπόμβρησις 3166

ἐπομβρίζω 3235–41

ἐπομράνιος: τῶν ἐ. δυνάμεων 1824; τὰ ἐ. τάγματα 3074f.; and elsewhere ἐπτά 358, 2954 (see σταδιοδρομέω), 2962 (οἱ ἐ. αἰῶνες), 3951 (cf. γυνή)

ἐπταετής: ἀπὸ ἐπταετοῦς καὶ τὴν ἄνω 3927

ἐπτάλοφος: τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ταύτην τὴν ἐ. 4045

ἐπαπλάσιων *e* 106

Ἐπτάσκαλον 3635

ἐργάζομαι 420, 755 etc.; τὰ θυσιαστήρια κύθρους οἴκων ἐργάζονται 4064  
ἐργασία spiritual endeavour, practice, way of life 95, 233, 346, 373, 906, 1102, 1104, 1124, 1258, 1291, 1528, 1688, 2124, 2704, *a* 6

ἐργαστήριον tavern 413; shop 1349

ἐργατεία: ἐργατείας ποιησάμενος 2060

ἐργάτης: τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐ. 909

- ἔρεβος, belongs to the third phase of creation 3010; 4301  
 ἐρημώνω to empty one's bowel (?) 3496  
 ἐρήμωσις 3888–901  
 ἔριον: λευκὸς ὡς ἔ. 3229, χιόνα ὥσπερ ἔ. 3238  
 ἐρμηνεία 3054, 3271; τί ἐρμηνείαν ἔχει 3279, 3301, 3406  
 ἐρμηνεύω 2977, 4273; τί ἐρμηνεύει 3242, 3428; τί ἐρμηνεύεται 3421, 4281, *d* 75  
 Ἑρμῆς 3409  
 ἐρπετόν, as symbol of various kinds of sinners or sins 1062, 2349, 2379, 2496, 2590, 2593, 3888–901, *a* 130 and 145, *d* 144  
 ἔρωσ 576, 630, 1471, 4355, *a* 124, *e* 59, *e* 106 (E); ἔρωτα τίθεμαί τινος or τίθημι κατὰ τινος, of the devil 863, 2489f.  
 Ἑσδράς 2777  
 ἐσθίαισις 238, 390  
 ἐσθίω *passim*; κλεψιμαῖα ἐσθίων 1413; τῷ ἐσθίοντι τὰ ἀμφία τῶν ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις κατατιθεμένων 1873f.; ὁ τὰ σέλη ἐσθίων (see under σέλη) 41, 1437; σάρκας ἀνθρώπων ζώσας ἐσθίοντες 4056; φάγονται τὸν χοῦν τῆς γῆς 4063  
 ἐσπερινὸς ὕμνος 3653  
 ἔστω even if 1266, 1895  
 ἔσχατον = ἔπειτα (cf. Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 38f.) 13, 4321  
 ἔσχατος: ἐπ' ἐσχάτων 2245, 2949; ἐπ' ἐ. τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν 3277; ἐπ' ἐ. τῶν χρόνων 3306f.; ἐν ταῖς ἐ. ἡμέραις 3824f.  
 ἐτάζω: τὸν φοβερὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ ἐτάζοντος 3767f.; cf. *e* 24  
 \*ἑτερόθεος: ἑτεροφυῇ καὶ ἑτερόθεα 493; cf. ἑτέρα ἢ θεά 528  
 ἑτερος: ὁ ἔ. one of the others 262, 378, 838, 1182; 2941 (pl.), 4236  
 ἑτεροφυῆς of a different nature 493, 524  
 [\*]ἑτερόφυος v.l. for ἑτεροφυῆς 493, 524  
 ἐτοιμασία 3117, *d* 187 and 191  
 ἐτοιμαστής 3796  
 εὐαγγέλιον 709, 1241, 1434, 1664, 1728, 3133, 3136, 3263, 3394, 3975  
 εὐαγγελιστής *e* 73  
 εὐθέτως 2912, 3013, *e* 128 (E)  
 εὐθής 1628  
 εὐθυδρομέω (v.l. εὐθειοδρομέω) *d* 36  
 εὐθύς: ἐπ' εὐθείας, opp. διὰ στενῆς ῥύμης 2682; rightly *a* 166  
 εὐθύτης: ἐν εὐθύτητι with certainty 3082, 3457 (in the Septuagint usually meaning 'in righteousness')  
 εὐθυφόρως 3013  
 εὐκατάνυκτος, of tears 140



- εὐκτήριον, εὐκτήριος οἶκος: the Theotokos at Constantine's Forum 1294, 1298, the Myrelaion 1467, Sts Peter and Paul 1793, 1804, 1820, in a vineyard outside CP 1862
- εὐλογέω 1605, 1608, 2420, 4350
- εὐλογητὸς κύριος 473
- εὐμορφος, of celestial youths 629; cf. ὠραῖος
- εὐνοῦχος: μεγιστάνου τινὸς ὑπάρχων κουβικουλάριος 1034; belonging to a χαρτουλάριος πλωτῶν 3792; sexually exploited by his master 1549; (τῇ) φύσει εὐ. 1973, *d* 217; four εὐ. bring comfort during torture 4234
- εὐοδόω τὴν ὁδόν 2104; εὐωδούμενος καὶ κυβερνώμενος 4363
- εὐόπτως 1716
- εὐοσμία 575, 577, 596, 956, 4180, 4384, *a* 38, *e* 99, *e* 127 (E)
- εὐπνοια, as part of man's σύνθεσις 3020; conjectured 843
- εὐποιία 3359, *e* 44 (E)
- εὐσέβεια 1111, 2420, 4195
- εὐσεβής 11, 110, 1828, 1956
- εὐσεβῶς 2115, 2711
- εὐχή *passim*; ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ 290
- εὐώδης 207, 586, 3694
- εὐωδία 5, 90, 498 etc.
- εὐωδιάζω 734, 4185, 4194, *a* 103
- εὐώνυμος 1295, 1729, 1769
- ἐφάμαρτος 1091, 1513, 1541, 2863
- ἐφεδρεύω 2749, 2809, 3076–82, *a* 70, *a* 131
- [\*]ἐφηνίκα = ὀπηνίκα 3235–41 (C); cf. [\*]ἐπινίκα
- ἔφοδος, of the devil's access to a person 2808
- ἐφόμοιος *d* 32
- ἔχενδρα, ἔχεντρα = ἔχιδνα 3492, *a* 117, *a* 140
- [\*]ἔχθρωδός = ἔχθρώδης *a* 147
- ἔχθρωδῶς 2343
- ἔχιδνα, as a symbol of sins or sinners 707 (pl. ἔχιδνες), 1926, 2380, 3492, *a* 117 and 122
- ἔχτις 707, 2331
- ἔχομαι, w. gen. 1113, 1409, 4188, 4278; ταῦτα πάντα ἐχέσθωσαν ... τῇ ἐμῇ ἀμελείᾳ let all this be left to my careless person 1386
- ἔχω: οὕτως ἔχεις τὸν Χριστόν for Christ's sake 58; see note ad loc.
- ἔψημα (v.l. ἔψεμα) 922, 937, 941, 971, 986
- ἔψω 935 (vv. ll. ἐψών, ἐψίων), 2197; fig. 2198, 2778 (ἐὰν μὴ ἐψηθῶμεν διὰ τῶν πειρασμῶν ...); imperf. ἔπιεν 932 (v.l. ἤπιεν)
- ἐωθινός: ὁ ἑ. ὕμνος 1678; ψάλλοντος τὰ ἑ. 101–5
- ἔως: ἔ. ὅτε until 3051, while 3780; ἔ. οὐ until 1361, 1815, 3610

ἑωσφόρος 3588

Ζεύς (v.l. Δίας) 3409

ζητέω beg, w. dat. 342; cf. *MirArtem*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 58,16  
ζιβύνη 3832

ζοφερός 172, 2329, 2405, 2407, 4306

[\*] ζοφόζω, v.l. for ζοφώνω 3294

ζοφόω: ζεζοφωμένος 2022, *a* 115

ζοφώδης 2326, 3293, 3467, 3570, 3575, *a* 106, *d* 299 (E)

[\*]ζοφώνω = ζοφώω 3294, 3392

ζυγοστατέω, of judgment of deeds or thoughts 2797, 3363

ζωγραφέω 3030, *d* 24

ζώδιον (v.l. ζωδίον): ὥσπερ ζ. ἄψυχον statue 3530

ζῶδον sign of the zodiac 1186

\*ζῶδων = ζῶανον 3420

ζωή *passim*; of eternal life 497, 499, 602, 2681, 3521, 4117; livelihood  
1911

ζωηρός 3352

ζώνη, a red celestial girdle 517; τῆς ζ., ἣν ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι διεζώσθη 2623;  
Satan bound to the girdle of a woman with four knots 2462–4, 2547,  
2630f.

ἡ πάντως 325, 2035 (ἡ codd. in both cases)

ἡδη: ὡς ἡ. = ὡς δῆθεν 222, 300, 348; cf. 727; also *VPhilar*, *BHG* 1512, ed.  
Vasiliev, 72,23

ἡδύλαλος (sic) 683

ἡδύνομαι 684, 1370

ἡδυπάθεια = ἡδονή 2182, 2416, *a* 86

ἡδύς *passim*; voc. ὁ ἡ. 3663; πνεῦμα ἡ. 2908

ἡδύτης 210, 565, 586, 597, 996, 1634, 1767, 2197, 4184, *a* 92

ἡδυφώνως 1705

ἡθος: πρὸς ἡ. 592; ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἐπορεύετο ἡ. 1461; and elsewhere

ἡκω: 2 sing. ἡκας 1424, 1425; ἡκεις 2034

ἡλεκτρος, ἡλεκτρον 649, 1765, 3075, 3753

ἡλιακόν balcony *e* 132 (E)

ἡλιακός 1731 (αὔρα), 1767 (ἄκτις), *d* 93 (ἄκτινες)

Ἡλίας, the Prophet Elijah 3171, 3175, 3184, 3200, 4077 (gen. Ἡλιοῦ),  
4086

ἡλιος: the face was shining ὡς ὁ ἡ. 491 etc., ὑπὲρ τὸν ἡ. 652 etc.; the Father  
compared with ἡ., the Son with an ἄκτις ἡλίου 845; defined as πῦρ  
αἰσθητόν 3808f., cf. *d* 29; painted ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου *d* 22–4; bigger

than CP *d* 33; its movements *d* 34–43; ὁ ἥ. εἰς αἷμα γενήσεται 4061; ὁ κρυπτὸς ἥ., of Andrew 4388, *e* 114; after the Judgment, what will become of the sun? *d* 122

ἥλος; the nails of Christ in Constantine's statue on the column in the Foros 3561, 4043

ἡμέρα *passim*; ἐν ταῖς ἡ. τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνάγκης 455; μιᾶς ἡ. ἀγάπη 1135; ἐν μιᾷ ἡ. 2827; ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡ. 1001, 2136, 2648, 3461; ἐν μιᾷ 3607; μιᾷ τῶν ἡ. 816, 1241, 1919; ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρα every day 2395f.; ἐν ταῖς ἡ. αὐτῆς 3963; κατὰ τὰς ἡ. αὐτοῦ 3828; ἐπὶ τῶν ἡ. τινος 3826f.; the last days 3277, 3825, 4058 (τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας); the day of Judgment 2272f., 2282f., 3865f.

ἡμίονος 2349, *a* 110

ἡμῶριον (v.l. ἡμίωρον) 1410

Ἡρα 3410

Ἡρώδης *d* 60

Ἡρωδιάς 2377 (see ὀρχέομαι)

Ἡσαίας, the Prophet Isaiah 3406, 4007, 4077

ἡσυχάζω 101–5, 600, 1049, 1681, 2266, 2834

ἡσυχος 797, 1984, 2908

ἡσύχως 574

ἡχησις *e* 136 (E)

Θαβώριον = Θαβώρ, Mount Tabor 3441

θάλασσα: ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν θ. κινδυνεύοντες 1043; the sea, like Hades and the dragon, is insatiable 2692; the water(s) of the sea 3113, 3148, 3154; the first apocalyptic emperor will put his hand on the sea 3840; from the sea riches will rise 3857; the sea will become red with the blood of the Romans 3950; after the Judgment, what will become of the sea? *d* 122

θαμβέομαι 965, 2456, 2589, 4092, *c* 35

θάμβος 1732, *e* 140 (E)

θανατικόν 1830

θάνατος 280, 427, 1551 etc.; = θανατικόν 1835; those who love God live after death 1902; τὸν σωματικὸν ἀποθανόντες θ. 2755; the lord of the world investigates everybody's evil deeds at his death 2844; ἡ παγὶς τοῦ θ. 3487; ἡ τοῦ θ. τομὴ 3496; death is a thief 3514; θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖται 3864; annihilate or die πικρῷ θ. 4087, 4114; Epiphanius saw death standing above him *c* 27

θαῦμα 532, 732, 1118 etc.; ἐκ φρίκης εἰς θ. καὶ ἐκ θ. εἰς ἑκστασιν μεταφερόμενος 559

θαυμάζω 308, 1772, 2644

θαυμάσιος 1703, 2411, 3615, 3752; τὰ θ. 701, 1364, 1378, 1772



- θαυμαστός 224 (of Symeon Salos), 269, 506 etc.  
 θαυματούργημα 453  
 θαυματουργός, of an icon of the Theotokos 1469  
 θεά 3970 (cf. κρατέω), 3986  
 θεά appearance 21, 207, 608; etc.; vision 176, 505, 3604, 3648, 3683, 3732  
 θέαμα sight, wonder 88, 625, 708, 1316, 1395, *a* 75  
 θεάνθρωπος 674  
 θεάρεστος 3, 296, 4202, *a* 12  
 θεαρέστως 807  
 θέατρον 34, 43, 764, 2492 (θ. τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου; also 3759, *e* 84)  
 θεαυγής *d* 222  
 θεϊκός 95, 186, 630, 685, 735, 982, 1767, 3044, 4183, 4237, 4379, *e* 96  
 θεῖον τό 1065, 3030, 3338  
 θεῖος 690, 1557, 1587 etc.  
 θέλημα *passim*; of the Father and the Son 835  
 θέλω *passim*; θέλων καὶ μὴ θέλων 3784; τί θέλεις (σὺ) τὸ χρυσίον 2054, 2056  
 θεογεννήτρια (v.l. θεογεννήτωρ) 4335, *e* 63 (E)  
 Θεόγνωστος, protospatharios, later general of the territories of the East 10  
 θεόγραφος *d* 285  
 Θεόδωρος, a young man in Antioch, martyr in the reign of Julian the Apostate 4196, 4213, 4227, 4231  
 θεοειδής 3745, *d* 259  
 θεολογία: λόγους ... περί τε θ. καὶ δογμάτων 812  
 Θεολόγος, θεολόγος, of the Apostle John 141, 3039, 3131, 3137, 3145, 3189, 4076; of St Gregory of Nazianzos *d* 107  
 θεομήτωρ 3693  
 θεομίσητος 1549, 4209  
 θεοπάροχος 916, 1472  
 θεόπνευστος 2288, 3266, *a* 153  
 θεοπρεπής 965  
 θεοπρεπῶς 807  
 θεός *passim*; οἱ θ. τῶν Ἑλλήνων 3418; τίς ὁ ἰσχύων ἐν θεοῖς καὶ θεαῖς 3986; ὃ λεγόμενε θεέ 3983; by God 456 (τὸν θ. τὸν ἅγιον), 1530 (τὸν θ. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς), 1948 (τὸν θ. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ)  
 \*θεόσκηπτον: τὰ θ. Ἰσραὴλ the divine tribes of Israel 4005  
 \*θεότερπνος 4190  
 θεότης 680, 854, 3026, 3036ff., 3076, 3078, 3080–2, 3106, 3247, 3253, 3335, 4178, 4181, 4284f., 4349, 4358, *d* 6 and 11, *e* 48, 56, 71 and 77  
 θεοτόκος 721, 1488, 1490, 2949, 3140, 3430, 3737 (in the vision at Blachernae), 3753, 3819, *e* 2; the church of the θ. at the Foros 1295; the

- church of the θ. called Myrelaion 1468; Epiphanius used to visit a church of the θ. 1597
- θεουργικός *e* 60
- θεόφοβος 3708
- θεοφόρητος 3264
- θεοφόρος 31; of Andrew: 1128, 1400, 1625, 3756
- θεοφρούρητος 3264
- θέρμη, of a sunbeam = the Holy Ghost 847, of the soul 2907
- θέρμια 360, 1233
- θερμός, of love 1471, of the lightning appearing from St Akakios's tomb 3669
- θέσις στοιχείων position of planets 3808*f*.
- θεσπέσιος 2402
- Θεσσαλονίκη 3925 (Θ., σὺ νικήσεις)
- θεωρέω *passim*; θ. κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους 2470; *pass.* appear 2564, be seen 4289*f*. (the essence of the spirit θεωρεῖσθαι οὐ δύναται)
- θεωρητικός: τῷ νοεῶ τε καὶ θ. τοῦ πνεύματος ὁμῶς 4309
- θεωρία, appearance 207, 2904; power of vision 658; vision 1594, 1849, *a* 161, *c* 29; ὅσον γὰρ ἀναβῆς τῇ θ. 4296; tell me if you have something ἀπὸ θεωρίας 4164 (also *VNiph*, ed. Rystenko, 42,5); he had knowledge of things spiritual and material ἀπὸ φοβερᾶς θ. πνεύματος ἁγίου 4277; and elsewhere
- θήκη, St Akakios's tomb 3655, 3668, 3671, 3681
- θῆλυς neut. pl. θῆλυ *c* 6
- θηρίον: the Lord regards τοὺς ὀργίλους ὡς τὰ θ. 2367; some of the demons were ὡς θηρία μετασχηματισθέντες 2565 (cf. *a* 90*f*.); God will send winged θ. against those who believe in Antichrist 4110–13; τοῦ νοητοῦ θ. τῆς ἐχίδνης *a* 122; what will become of the θηρία after the Judgment? *d* 123; then there will be no θ. *d* 144; 2331, 2590, 3206
- θλιβερός 3643, 3652
- θνήσις 1830
- θόρυβος: μέσον or ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θ. 272, 742, 1455, 1851; τοὺς θ. τῶν δαιμόνων 155; and elsewhere
- Θράκη 3897
- θράσος: the θρ. of the devil 2714, 2810
- θρηνέω 426, 754, 1396 etc.; τότε αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκείναι σκοτισθήσονται δίκην θρηνοῦσαι ἐν τῷ ἁέρι 4060
- θρήνος 1501; gen. θρήνους (v.l. -ου) 116, 1533; dat. θρήνῳ 1555, 2099; acc. θρήνον 1531, 1832
- θριαμβεύω proclaim, expose 1465, 1591, *d* 343 (E)
- θρίαμβος object of derision 1326, 1465, 1522

\*θροηλός: τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκεῖνο θρ. καὶ ταρακτικόν (v.l. θροητικόν) terrify-  
ing? 3116

\*θροητικός 3116

θροῖσμός terror 3875; quoted by Lampe on the basis of Vassiliev, *Anecdota*; cf. *VNiph*, ed. Rystenکو, 185,30 ὀχλήσεις καὶ θροῖσμούς. Also in the Bremer MS (C 11) of the so-called Cyrillus glossary, where it is spelt θρωῖσμός and rendered ταραχή (I owe this reference to Prof. K. Alpers)

θρόνος: the heavenly θρ. 668, 670, 1736, 1823, 2986, 3072, 4179, *e* 69; the θρ. of the ruler of the world 714; Satan planned to στησαι τὸν θρ. ἐν ταῖς νεφέλαις καὶ ἔσεσθαι ὅμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ 2998; God will seat Epiphaniος ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ *d* 232; μὰ τὸν ἀσάλευτον θρ. καὶ τὴν τοῦτου εὐπρέπειαν (the devil speaks) 1428

θρύλαιον/εον chatter? 857

θυμιάζω 4168

θυμίαμα 561, 1501, 3482 (οὐδέποτε ... δέδωκε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ αὐτοῦ θ.), 4169, 4173, 4376, 4384, *a* 38, *d* 194, *e* 91 and 99, *e* (E) 119 and 128

θυμιατήριον 4169, 4173

θυμιάω 561, 562, 735, 1505, 4175, 4188, 4259

θύρα: αἱ θ. τοῦ ἀγίου θυσιαστηρίου 1475

θυρίς, of the eyes 1876; αἱ θ. of the houses along the Mese 2280

Θύρσος, the saint and martyr (feast day 14 Dec.) 3464; his church in CP 3516, 3524

θυσία *e* 26; of pagan sacrifice 2517, 2629, 3349, 3414

θυσιάζω 4199, *f* 15

θυσιαστήριον altar or sanctuary 1476, 1675, 2838, 2864, 3401, 3746, 3844, 3972, 4064

Ἰακώβ, the patriarch 268, *d* 96

ιατρός 3414, 3416, 3419, 3772

ἰδιοπροαιρέτως = ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει 2609, 2613, *d* 161

ἰδιοχείρως 2114, 3714

ἰδού: καὶ ἰ. *passim*; ἰ. σοι 3983

Ἰεζάβελ 3172

Ἰεζεκιήλ 4110

ἱεράρχης *e* 74

ἱεραρχία: στολή ἱεραρχίας episcopal garment 1611

ἱερατεῖον 3891

ἱερατεύω 2834

ἱερεύς 2836, 2862, 3172, 3866, 3928, 3935, 4393, *e* 120

ἱερός: see ἀναφορά, βιβλος, γράμμα



ιερουργία eucharist 3404

Ἱερουσαλήμ 3089, 3913–20, 3917, 4010, 4018, 4019–21, 4077–80; ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἡ νέα Ἱ. 3812

Ἱησοῦς *d* (E) 323 and 325; Ἱ. Χριστός 168f. etc.; Ἱ. ὁ κύριος ὁ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, in interpretation of Ps. 74:9 3246f.; τοῦ δικαίου βρέφους Ἱ. *d* 66; μὰ τὸν Ἱ. 1879, 2087, 3070

ἱλιγγιάω 362, 976, 1159, 1209, 1306, 1346, 1698, 2025, 2412, *a* 112; often in combination w. φρίττω (*q. v.*)

Ἱλλυρικόν: at the end of time, Ἱ. will be restored to the Roman Empire 3839

ἱμάτιον 800 (Ἀγαρηνὸν ἐνδεδυσμένον μέλαν ἰ.), 877 (ὁ σατανᾶς ... Ἀγαρηνοῦ σχήματι ... περιβεβλημένος ἰ. μέλαν), 1236, 1766, 2464 (τοῖς ὑποκάτω ἰ.), *a* 42 and 47

ἵνα = εἴθε or ἄς 2672, 3569; w. subj. = imp. 2594; in the consecutive sense 2821, 3033; w. pres. indic. 203, 3183, cf. 4321, *e* 35 (E)

\*Ἱνδαλία? dubious location of the gates of Alexander 4052

Ἱνδία (emendation for \*Ἱνδαλία) 4052

ἶον 587, 965 (ὥσπερ ἶ. καὶ ῥόδον πορφυροῦν), 1767, *a* 21

Ἱορδάνης 3102, 3439

ἰός, on the faces of sinners in Hades *a* 139; ἀσπίδων καὶ ὄψεων etc. *a* 145

Ἰουδαῖος 3060, 3107, 3108, 3179, 3256, 3262–9, 3424, 3532, 3852, 4003, 4014, 4015, *d* 83, *d* (E) 283 and 322

Ἰούδας (the sheep of Judah) 4009

Ἰουλιανός, Julian the Apostate 4196

ἱπποδρόμιον 2492 (ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ ἰ.), 3759 (ἐν τῷ ἰ., *v.l.* ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ ἰ.), *e* 84 (ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ ἰ.); see also θεάτρον

ἱππόδρομος 2492

Ἱππόλυτος, Saint and doctor of the Church 4013 (Ἱ. δὲ ὁ μάρτυς ἔφησεν)

ἵππος 3146 (St John is called λευκὸς ἵ.), 3768

ἵπταμαι 1512, 1706

Ἰσαάκ, the Patriarch Isaac *d* 96

Ἰσμαηλίτης 803, 3852

ἰσοβασίλειος, of the Trinity *e* 39

ἰσοφωνέω 4013

Ἰσραήλ 4005–12, *d* 106, *e* (E) 295 and 307

ἶχνος foot 2173, 3675

Ἰωάννης: 1. rich man living near Neorion (cf. 2527f.), father of Epiphanius 879; 2. wicked schoolfellow of Epiphanius, son of Celeustion 2203ff.; 3. St John the Apostle and Theologian, Son of Thunder 130, 141, 148, 3039, 3132, 3140, 3189, 4076, 4077–80; 4. St John the Baptist and Forerunner 3108, 3432, 3865; a church of his at CP 3649; see also

- Πρόδρομος; 5. St John Chrysostom *d* 107f.; 6. ὁ μακάριος Ἰ., not identified 2242
- Ἰώβ: ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰ. ... κατὰ σοῦ ἐξαιτήσομαι 1438
- Ἰωσήφ, son of Jacob *d* 96
- ἰῶτα: τὸ γὰρ ἰ. καὶ τὸ σίγμα were taken away from ἄριστος to form ἄρτος 4281–3
- καθαίρω 1383, 1384, 2135
- καθάπερ: οὕτως ... καθάπερ 1751
- καθαρισμός 1631
- καθαροπότης tavern keeper 363, 370, 412, 1244, *a* 170 and 172
- καθαροπότιον, an establishment in which wine, fish and bread were consumed 352, 389, 408, 1234, 1242, 1397, *a* 172
- κατεισπράττομαι 1520, 1868, *a* 85, cf. *TGL* s.v. κατεισπράσσω
- \*καθέμπλεος *e* 94 (E)
- κάθημαι ease oneself 1243
- καθίσταμαι: καθέστη 418 (φρίκη μοι κ.); καθέστηκα = εἰμί 1145, 1309, 1753, 2046 (θλίψίς με καθέστηκε), 2902; w. pres. part. 1407, 1414, 1429, 2039 (ἄπιθι ... καὶ μὴ ἀδικῶν με καθέστηκας)
- καθοκνέω 3982
- καθοπτεύω 411, 1304, 2281
- καθοράω: καθοφθῶμεν 2705
- καθότι = ὅτι 'that' 1628, 1719f., 2032, 2034, 2133, 2797; causal 981, 1852, 2204, 2474, 2481, 2736, 3046, 3104, 3516, 3708, 4142, 4167; temporal 1853; consecutive 2853
- καθυπαντῶ 3705
- καί, in connection w. part., abundant or in wrong position (cf. τε) 99, 1025, 1209, 1348, 1918, 1954, 1962, 1998
- καιρός: see ἄγω
- κακοβουλία 2027
- κακομήχανος, Satan 2810
- κακουργία, of magic 2463
- κακῶς: κ. καὶ οὐ θέλω 3611
- [\*]καλανίσκος (the foul water of the) sewer 405 (-ίσκων, v.l. καλανίων); cf. Demetrakos s.v. καναλίσκος and note ad loc.
- κάλανος sewage 1514 (οἱ ἐξανθλοῦντες κ.), 2345 (κ. καὶ κόπρον)
- καλανῶδες ὕδωρ 1511
- \*καλανωπλίτης (sic) sewage worker 1514; the same as καναλοπλύτης, cf. P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator," *REB*, 32 (1974), 1–145, esp. 89, line 1006 and 105, line 1268
- καλλιμάρτυς, of St Akakios 3639; for the accent, cf. μεγαλομάρτυς

- κάλλος: τῆς ψυχῆς, ψυχικόν 252, 1539, 2183 (see note ad loc.), 2722; τοῦ  
 κάλλους τὴν ὡραιότητα 863; κ. μοχθηρόν 2281  
 καλύβη 431, 1447, 4375, *e* 92  
 καλῶς: κ. σε εὖρον 2473  
 κάμνω 280, 2188, 3573, 3983, *d* 178  
 κάμπος (Lat. *campus*) = πεδῖον 3222  
 κάμπω, pass. listen to (a prayer) 1581, 4355  
 κᾶν *passim*; κᾶν εἰς 1517, 2209, 2301, 3519, 3806f.; κᾶν τάχα = τάχα per-  
 haps 331, 2195  
 κανδήλα 2457, 2460, 2515, 2535, 2597, 2618, 2620, 2628  
 κανών: οἱ θεοὶ κ. 1146; = ἑωθινὸς ὕμνος 1778, 1783  
 καπνός, of earthly life 1950; coming forth from an Ethiopian's eyes 2090;  
 the world will disappear like κ. 2770  
 Καρία 3940  
 Καρυόπολις (dat.; various spellings) 3881  
 κάτα cat 3493 (v.l. κάτος)  
 καταβαπτίζω: the demon κ. τῷ ὕπνῳ τῆς ράθυμίας 1673; τῇ ἀπογνώσει τὸν  
 νοῦν *b* 6  
 καταγλυκαίνω 3155; cf. ὕδωρ  
 κατάγγω 1545 (τῇ πείνῃ κτλ.)  
 κατάγω: τῷ ὕπνῳ καταχθέντες (v.l. κατασχεθέντες) 1676  
 καταγώγιον 246, 251 (τὰ κ. τῶν ἀσέμνων γυναικῶν), 254, 298, 301, 336,  
 424, 1557 (δυσωδίας), 2372 (τῆς κοπρίας), 2439, 3888–901  
 κατάθεμά σε (v.l. σοὶ) 1912, 2532  
 κατακοπή 3888–901  
 κατακραυγάζω 1265  
 κατακρίνω 1861 (adjure), 2414  
 καταλαλιά *a* 60  
 κατάλαλος 2373 (cf. κόραξ), *a* 148  
 καταλέγω τραγωδίαν, of demons chanting mockingly in chorus 3468f., cf.  
*VStephIun*, PG 100, 1140A οἱ δὲ μετὰ κλάδους δαφνῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
 αὐτῷ σκωπτικῶς χορεύοντες ... ἀποστάτην, ἀμνημόνευτον, καὶ  
 σκοτένδυνον, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ αἰσχυρὰ καταλέγοντες and *VNiph*, ed. Rys-  
 tenko, 142,25 καροῦσθαι (v.l. κορταλίζειν) καὶ αἰσχυρὰ καταλέγειν  
 κατάλεξις chant, singsong 3471  
 κατάλογος 1081, 1114, 3410, *a* 91  
 καταμαλάσσω 306  
 κατάνυξις 484, 1430  
 κατανύσσω 1910, 3513  
 καταπαίζω, of Andrew 740



κατάπαυσις place of rest 2408; rest 2891; τῇ κ. τοῦ λόγου having finished the oration 4158

καταπέτασμα: four κ. around the cross in heaven 609, we arrived at the second κ. 644, a multitude of the heavenly host was inside the κ. 645f., before reaching the heavenly throne they had to pass various other κ. 647ff.

καταπλήττω 667, 4235, *d* 1; mostly pass.: εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν 855, ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ θεάματι 1316; ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει 1733; τῶν ῥημάτων *d* 179f.; τῷ θαύματι 961, 1602, 1680; καταπλαγεῖς ἐξέστη 977, ἐξέστη ... καὶ καταπλαγεῖς 1788f.; 2876

καταποντιστικός 4301-3

καταράομαι, w. dat. 1030, w. gen. (s.v.l.) 3761

κατάρατος 897, 1062, 1376, 1585, 2152, 2507, 2720, 3868

καταργέω: καταργηθῇ ὁ σατανᾶς 261; obj. τὸν πονηρὸν σκοπὸν 2431; καταργηθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων 2452

καταρράκτης trapdoor 2813; see Koukoules, *Byzantinôn bios*, IV, 266

καταρρέω dissolve? 2305

κατασήπω 2848 (κατασήπουσι, v.l. -σήπτουσι)

κατασοφίζομαι, of Andrew 740

[\*]κατασπέρω = κατασπείρω 3166; the same spelling in the so-called *Apparatus Bellicus*, ed. C. Zuckerman, *TM*, 12 (1994), 368, line 89

κατάστασις 22, 1139, 1628, 1635, 1645, 2122, 2991 (ἀπὸ καταστάσεων, doubtful case), 4332, 4334, *e* (E) 18, 35, 49, 53 and 62; ὑπεράνω πάσης καταστάσεως more than any virtue 4333f.

καταστέλλω: κατεσταλμένος πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ... κινήματων τῆς ἁμαρτίας 2160

κατασφραγίζω, med. 955, 1594

κατάτερπνος 2131

κατατεφρώ 3977

κατατίλλω 759, 770

κατατυφλώ *a* 141

καταφέρω 79f., 3239, 3512 (in dubious phrase), 3873, 3998, 4219

καταφλέγω 2563

καταχθονίζω 2795

καταχθόνιος 2407, 3011, 4301-3, *f* 19

καταψηφίζομαι disregard 1123

κατεγκαλέω 404

κατευοδόω *e* 36 (E)

κατευφραίνω 520

κατοικέω: κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ, of a magician 2616

κατοίκησις, of the eternal abodes 2978

κατόρθωμα 4386f., *e* 130 (E)

[\*]κατορκίζω 1861; see also Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode*, 311; cf. καθορκίζω, recorded by Sophocles and by E. Trapp in *Stud-byzLex*, 23

κάτος 3493 (cf. κάτω), *a* 70

κατοσφραίνομαι 4377, *e* 120 (E)

καῦκος 1239f.; see note ad loc.

καῦσις 947, 3161

καυσώ 290

[\*]καυστηρία 2545, v.l. for καῦτρα, cf. Kriaras s.v.

καυστηριάζω 2930

καύστρα 2545

καυσώδης 1283

καύσων 945, 1282, 2590

καυτηρία 2545, v.l. for καῦτρα

καυτηριάζω 2930

καῦτρα burn 2545; cf. Demetrakos s.v. καῦτρα

καχέσπερος dark, gloomy (cf. ἀνέσπερος 'knowing no evening') 2051, 2407

κελαδισμός bird song 535, 1708, 3588, 3602

Κελευστίων, father of Epiphanius' friend John 2341

κελεύω: ὡς κελεύεις as you like 1019; κέλευσον as you like *e* 21, please *d* 222 and 249; = βούλομαι 2311, 2447

κενοδοξία 2163

κενόδοξος 2357

κέρας: κ. τῆς ἄκρας ταπεινοφροσύνης 710; 3429 (ref. Ps. 131:17); the enemies of CP will break their horns against the walls of the city 3821; ὁ Αἰθιοπίας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου κ., of the fourth apocalyptic ruler 3908

κερδαίνω, of demons or the devil gaining a sinner 3471, 3478, 3491

κέρκετον = βίγλα night patrol 256

κέρκος: σιδηρᾶ κ. of a tool for engraving *e* 69 (E)

κεφάλαιον point, topic 452; τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν, head of the evangelists 3145; and elsewhere

κεφαλὴ: a dragon w. three heads representing miserliness, madness and heartlessness 1965; Christ called head of the Church 3314; and elsewhere

κῆνσος 3843

κηρίον *a* 58, *d* 193 (pl.)

κηρός in processions 1501, 4205; made white by dew 3231; 3702

κῆρυξ, of the Christian belief *e* 72

κιθάρα 3968

κιθαρίζω 2758, 3854

κιθαρωδός 2376, 3483

κιλίκιον 277, 431

κινδυνεύω: οἱ ἐν θαλάσῃ κινδυνεύοντες 1043

κινέω: λόγον κινεῖν 261, 1954f. (λ. κ. μετὰ τινος), 3502; abs. 213 (pass.)

κίνημα 2161 (τῆς ἁμαρτίας), 2208 (gestures of a prostitute)

κίνησις: τὴν κ. καὶ πύρωσιν τῆς σαρκός 2765

κινύρα 2656

\*κινύρισμα sound of κινύρα 2672

κίτρον citron 965

κιχράομαι, w. dat., = χράομαι use 1402

κίων, the column of Constantine I in the Foros 3559

κλάδος 491 (κλ. χρυσοῦν πεπλεγμένον κρίνα καὶ ῥόδα), 496, 1699 (of tree in heaven), 1716

κλαίω 485, 1572, 4045

κλείζω: δόξη πολλῇ κλείζόμενος 117

κλεψιμαῖος 1413

κλήμα, of trees in paradise 554, 558

κληρικός *b* 1 and 3

κλήρος, of the church of St Anastasia 220

κλίνω τὴν κεφαλὴν 2080, 4340f.; τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ (sc. ὁ θεός) ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὰ θεοφρουρήτα ἔθνη 3263; τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸ γόνυ, in reverence 3525; τὰ γόνατα, γόνυ, in prayer 3744, 4336, 43338; τὸ γόνυ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς καρδίας καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος 4341f.

κνιπεύομαι 2061, v.l. for σκνιπεύομαι

κνιπία 1966 (v.l. σκν-; cf. σκνιπεύομαι), 2163; also *VNiph*, ed. Rystenko, 68,36, 87,13, 118,32

κνιπός 351, 355, 366

κνώδαλον 2349, 2362 (the Lord regards the idolaters ὡς τὰ κν.), 2380, 3888–901

κοιλαδέω 553, 570, v.l. for κελαδέω; cf. Du Cange s.vv. κηλαδεῖν, κοιλαδεῖν

κοιλάς: ταῖς κοιλάσι (v.l. κοιλάδες) ταῖς πρὸς Θράκην τε καὶ τὴν κάτω 3888–901 (dubious apocalyptic context)

κοινόβιον *e* 76

κοινωνέω 3509, 3517, *a* 43, *e* 11, *e* 146 (E)

κοινωνία, of νοῦς and διάνοια 824; in church 3480; 3514

κοιτάζω 275

κόκκινος 517 (ζώνην κ.), 3685 (κόκκινα φοροῦντας; v.l. ἀληθινά), 3705 (χλαῖναν κ., v.l. ἀληθινήν)



κολάζω tempt 2606; v.l. for κολαφίζω 1309

κόλασις, of the eternal punishment 2973, 2975, 3162, 3514, 3771f., 3787, 4030, 4034, c 33, d 101 (οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν κ. πύρινοι ἄγγελοι)

Κολοφωνία 1055; see also κωλοφωνία

κολυμβήθρα 2620

κόμβος 2463, 2547, 2598, 2630

κομίζομαι bring 3680, 4186; receive 3822

κόμμα piece (of cloth) 277, 318

κονδυάζω strike with the fist 76

κόνδυν: κ. διδόναι, deal a blow 79f.; quoted by DuCange s.v. κονδυάζειν; see also G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, II (Leipzig, 1917), Index s.v. κονδύλιον

[\*]κόνσος: see under κόσσος

κόντρα thrashing 264f.; cf. Du Cange s.v., Kriaras s.v. κοντριάρης and Haldon, *Three Treatises*, 161 on κονδριζόμενα

κόπος 283, 2058 (ἀπὸ κόπου), 2338, 2483 (ἀπὸ κόπου), 4193

κοπρία 1192 (dunghill), 2334 (ordure), 2364 (dunghill), 2371 (manure)

κόπριον, pl. 2338, 2344

κόπρος 317, 1505, 2345, 2369 (God regards the heretics as κ.), 2508, 2628, 2728, 2861, 3390, 3495, 3972, a 98

κοπρώδης 320, 1192, 2718, a 69

κόραξ: dragon transformed into a κ. 2098; of sinners in Hades 2331; God regards τοὺς καταλάλους ὡς κ. 2373; κ. chased away from the vineyard 2588

κορβανᾶς (v.l. κορβω-) coffer 1961

κόρκομον muzzle 357; cf. Malalas, ed. Dindorf, 395,17 τὸ κούρκωμον; however, κούρκουμον seems to be the usual spelling

κορυφαῖος: κ. ἀπόστολοι, of Sts Peter and Paul 1793, 1821

κορυφή 241, 515, 1768, 3748

κορώνη: of sinners in Hades 2331; the Lord regards τοὺς λοιδόρους ὡς κ. 2373; κ. chased away from the vineyard 2588

κοσμικός 4173

\*κοσμίωσις = κοσμιότης 1637

\*κοσμοεμπαίκτης: voc. κοσμοεμπαίκτη 1381, 1437; cf. \*ἐκκλησιοεμπαίκτης, ἐμπαίζω

κοσμοκράτωρ 713

κόσμος *passim*; συστήσασθαι τὸν κ., of Creation 2942; οἱ ἐπὶ αἰῶνες τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ... οὐ συνετελέσθησαν 2962; αἱ τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων στρατηγία ἐκ μιᾶς παρήχθησαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἶναι ...; 2983f.; πῶς τὸ τέλος τοῦ κ. τούτου; 3809; ἄκουσον ... περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κ. 3923f.; ἅπερ ... μέλλουσι συμβαίνειν τῷ κ. δεινά 4001; ὁ

- τὸν κ. ἐμπαίζων, of Andrew 323; παίζει τὸν κ., of Andrew 3574; cf. ἄκοσμος
- κοσσίζω = ῥαπίζω 305, 3567
- κόσσος (in β always spelt κόνσος) slap 244, 288f., 347f., 1466, 1923 (κοσσόν [acc.] A), 2143, 3567
- [\*]κοτζέα: κ. διδόναι deal a blow 79f.; cf. κόνδον, κουτζακίζω
- κουβικουλάριος (v.l. κουβου-) 1034
- κουβούκλιον 1190
- [\*]κουτζακίζω deal a blow 76; cf. [\*]κοτζέα
- κράζω: τὸ οὐαί 1504f., 2575; of Andrew in public places 1947, 2033; of the devil 3490, 3493; of St Paul 3063; of angels in heaven 687, 689; of Andrew in heaven 620
- Κρανίον Calvary 3913–20
- κρατέω *passim*; χεῖρα πρὸς χεῖρα κρατῶν τὸν μακάριον Ἰ. 858; κράτει τὴν πίστιν σου 3931; θεὰν ἑαυτὴν κρατοῦσα claiming to be a goddess 3970f.
- κράτος: ἐλθέ, τὸ κρ. τὸ φοβερόν (in prayer) 4359
- κραυγάζω 1504f.
- κρέμαμαι levitate, of Andrew 417, 1314, 1363 (cf. ἀήρ); in various cases of similar phenomena 668 (the heavenly throne), 1804 (a cross), 4039 (Hagia Sophia); of Christ on the cross 3141 (ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου), 4227 (ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ)
- κρίμα 2010, 3550, 3576 (fault, wrongdoing, cf. *VMichSynk*, ed. Cunningham, 128,2), 4386, e 129 (E)
- κρίνον (always in combination w. ῥόδον) 54, 492, 538, 587, 698, 733, 3671
- κρίνω judge 1639, 2006, 2373, 3350, 3597; decide 91, d 18
- κρίσις 2006–9, 4020; ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως 2272f.; ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρ. 2282f., 2755f., 3865f.; τοῦ συνειδότος 2316; which nations will rise εἰς κρίσιν? d 80f.; what will happen to heaven, earth etc. after the Judgment? d 121
- κριτήριον the celestial lawcourt 4120
- κριτής, (the Lord as) judge 1986, 1999, 2302 (ὁ δίκαιος κρ.), 2969, 4127, a 86
- Κρόνος 3410
- κροτέω: κρ. πόλεμον go to war 3946
- κρότος: ὀρχοῦμενοι καὶ ψόφον ἀποτελοῦντες καὶ κρ. 1516
- κρούω: τὸ ξύλον ἔκρουσεν ὁ προσμονάριος 127; τοῦ ξύλου κρούσαντος 935, 3653, 4130; τὰς χορδὰς 2656
- κρύον: ὡς τὸ κρ. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 526
- κρύος: gen. κρύους 423 (vv.ll. κρύου, κρυμοῦ), 485 (v.l. κρύου), 1042, 3094, 3233; dat. κρύει 1219

κρυπτός: ἐν τῷ κρ. 290f., ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ταμείῳ 2807; κρ. δούλους 1310 (see note), 1332; κρ. (v.l. κρυπτῶς) ἦν διάβολος 3801; κρ. ἥλιος, of Andrew 4388

κρύπτω 3095, 3848, 4232f.

κρυπτῶς 3801 (cf. κρυπτός); τὸν ἀγῶνα κρ. διατελέσας, of Andrew 4391 (cf. *e* 117)

κρύσταλλος 3048

κρύφιος, of God's wisdom 1786

κρυφίως: κρ. κατώπτειον 411, κατεσκόπει κρ. 2213

κτῆμα: πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως κτήματος αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντος 1861

κτηνοβάτης 2363

κτῆνος: not even animals commit homosexual acts 1089f.; ὥσπερ τετυφλωμένα κτ. καὶ ἀναίσθητα 2246; τοῖς κτ. τοῖς ἀνοήτοις 2359; ἄνθρωπος = κτ. θεοῦ λογικόν 3275

κτίσις: ἡ κτ. brought forth ἐν καθ' ἐν 2984; πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει 3136; τὸν ὁμφαλὸν τῆς κτ. 3936f.; after the Judgment ἡ κτ. will become φαιδρὰ καὶ τερπνὴ *d* 145

κτίσμα: the aeons were God's first κτ. 2980; the Godhead is not like τι κτ.; Arius perished in his belief that God's Son was κτ. 3302f.; κτίσματα 3323, 3327; Arius εἰς κτ. καὶ ποίημα τὸ θεῖον κατήγαγεν 3338

κτίστης Creator 1216

κτύπος: in the last days there will be κτ. in the skies 3898; κτύπους ποιῶν, of Antichrist in the last days 4090

κυδωνᾶτον 187

κύθρα 2197; see also χύτρα

κυθρίδιον 935, 968, 973

κύθρος: κύθρων οἴκους kitchens (?) 4064

κυκλάς: τὰς κ. τῶν νήσων 3935, 4065f., 4076f.

\*κυναίλαιος 1514 (cf. following)

[\*]κύναιος or [\*]κυναῖος = κύνεος dog- 1514 (κυναῖαν, sc. κόπρον), 2516 (οὐρον κυναῖον)

κυνάριον 476; Epiphanius ironically of himself 831; ὡς μεμνηνὸτα κ. 2374; of sinners *a* 70

κυρά: τὴν κ. πρεσβεύουσιν 2663 (cf. line 2659f. τὴν κυρίαν τὴν κυριοπρεσβεύτριαν)

κυριακή 2869, 2874, 2875

κυριοπρεσβεύτρια: τὴν κυρίαν τὴν κ. our Lady who intercedes with the Lord 2659f., cf. κυριοπατρίκιος *VSteph*lun, 1124B and 1141C, where the compound has a different meaning (κύριε πατρίκιε); noted by Du Cange s.v. πρεσβεύω (in the form κυρο-)



κυριότης, pl., in heaven 2992, *e* 69

κύρις (usually thus accentuated in the MSS) 444, 4226, *c* 22; κύρι ὁ μέγας 1078f., 2119, 2746, 4148, 4159, *d* 114

κύων 275, 279 (Andrew slept ὥσπερ κ. μετὰ κ.), 470 (Andrew chased away like a dog), 479ff. (even the dogs despise you etc.), 712, 1061 (not even the dogs), 1252, 1448 (of the devil), 1508, 1517, 2331, 2334, 2349, 2364, 2486, 2494, 2818, 2829, 3183, 3494, 3661, 4056, 4263 (ὥσπερ κ. σεσηπότα ἀποβδελύσσονται), 4271, *a* 100, *d* 332 (E, of Muhammad)

\*κωλοφωνία 1053 (see note ad loc.)

κωμωδέω 1939, 4033

Κωνσταντῖνος, Constantine I: τῆς Κωνσταντίνου 4, τοῦ φόρου Κωνσταντίνου 1296, τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Κ. τὸν βασιλέα 1795, ὁ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ Κ. ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις βασιλεύς 3560

Κωνσταντινούπολις 10, 507, 1296; see also Κωνσταντῖνος, Βαβυλῶν, βασιλεύω, Ἱερουσαλήμ, πόλις, Ῥώμη; for locations in the City, see Ἀκάκιος, Ἀναστασία, Ἀνεμοδούλιον, Ἀντίφορος, Ἀρτοπωλεῖα, Βλαχέρναι, Βοῦς, ἐκκλησία, ἔμβολος, Ἐπτάσκαλον, Θεοτόκος, Θύρσος, Ἰωάννης (no. 4), λίθινος, Μαυριανοῦ, μέση, Μυρέλαιον, Νεώριον, παλάτιον, Πέτρος, πλάκωμα, Σινάτον, Σοφία, Σταυρίον, Φόρος, Χαλκοπρατεῖα, Ὁρολόγιον

λαγνεῖα 2244, 2722

λαῖμαργος: the Lord regards τοὺς λ. ὡς τὰ ἄλογα 2367

λαιμός 1913 (ἀκόρεστε λ.), 2691

λακτίζω 745, 770, 1286, 1361, 2682

λαμβάνω *passim*; ληφθῆναι πονηρῷ πνεύματι 1341, 1465; in difficult context 2955 (ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔλαβον νοὶ οἱ τε ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι)

λαμπάς 2326, 2622, 3402

λαμπρός 574, 915, 1539, 2012, 4235

λαμπρότης 672, 1739, 1774, 2914

λαμπρύνω 2915, 2918, 2920, 2924

λανθάνω, w. acc. 3767, 4115; w. dat. 2836, 3790; abs. 4274

λαός 419, 1622, 3424 (τῶν Ἰουδαίων), 3745, 3751, 3752, 3891, 3911, 3927, 3943, 3973, 4054, 4067

λάρυγξ 4162f. (in interpretation of Ps. 118:103)

λάχανον 73, 359

λέβης 292

λεγεών, the legion of Satan 49; of angels 655; τοὺς ἄνω λ. 2985; *d* 116

λέγω: λ. τι μετὰ τινος 2869

λειτουργία 931, 3401, 3517, 3546, 3649, 4266, *a* 8

λείψανον, pl. relics: of the martyrs 3557; of the saints 3813, 3978; of

- Babylas and his pupils 4202; of Andrew *e* 124; sing. and pl. corpse (of Andrew) 4380, *e* 7 and 101, *e* 124 (E)
- λεκάνη 4235, 4240, 4246
- [\*]λεπτοκοπάω = -έω 99
- λεπτομερώς 99
- λεπτόν 333, 341; cf. ὀβολός, φόλλις, φολερόν
- λευκαίνω 3227, 3231
- \*λευκόμικτος in which white mixes with other hues(?) 4293
- λευκός, like snow 610, 626, 1035 (of a eunuch's body), 3075 (of the air above God), 4234, 4238; like light 611; like wool 3229; abs. 965, 1711, 1975 (a eunuch), 3146 (ἵππος, of St John the Evangelist), 3232 (of water becoming snow), 4235, 4316 (of shining waters in the east), *a* 36 (of celestial doves)
- λευκότης 670 (ὑπὲρ τῆς χιόνος), 1767 (like snow)
- λευκοφόρος 3685, 3740
- [\*]λευσχημονέω 44, 80; cf. *VSymSal*, ed. Rydén, 139,5, *VPhilar*, ed. Fourmy–Leroy, 163,23, *MarthHyakinth*, ed. Halkin, 124
- [\*]λευσχήμων 44, 48, 78f., 80, 159f., 2001, 2728
- λευχείμων (λευχήμων) 44, 48, 80, 2001, 2728
- λέων, in fig. sense 3662
- Λέων, the Emperor Leo I 9 (Λ. τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ μεγάλου), 110 (Λ. ὁ Μακέλλης), 1847
- λεωφόρος 401, 1297, 2403 (τὴν πλατείαν τῆς λ.), 4211
- λήθη: 1336 (τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς λ.), 2069, 2842 (λήθης βυθοῖς ἀμαυρούμενοι)
- ληρωδέω 3183; med. 2805
- ληρωδία 1441
- λίθινος 3418 (of idols), 3462f. and 3465 (see πόρτα)
- λίθος 52 (λ. τιμίς), 312 (ἢ ξύλον ἢ λίθος), 555 (τῷ πρώτῳ λ., ref. to Christ), 785, 1885 (τοῦ μνήματος), 2678 (ὁ ἀκρογωνιαίος λ., of Christ), 2697 (λ. ἄψυχοι), 2882 (precious stones), 3412 (of pagan statues), 3421 (symbolizes Christ), 3988
- λιμός 427 (τοῦ, v.l. τῆς, λ.)
- λιτανεία 4206
- λιτή 4211
- λογικός 274 (ποιίμνη), 3022 (ψυχή), 3275 (man is κτήνος θεοῦ λ.), *e* 55 (E; πρόβατα)
- λόγιον 1669 (τῶν θείων λ.), *a* 58 (λ. κυρίου)
- λογισμός: τῷ λ. καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ 541; thought 593; λ. ἀθεμίτοις 939; λ. ἀποστασίας 940; mind 2526, *e* 57; τοῖς πονηροῖς λ. 2720
- λόγος, of the Son 723, 843, 2937, 2940, 2944–8, 3003, 3274, 3320–6; man is a σύνθεσις of νοῦς, λ., εὐπνοία 3019f.; together with the body νοῦς

- and λ. constitute man 3020–2; λόγω w. gen. 2323; ἅμα τῷ λ. 625; σὺν τῷ λ. 182f., 383, 495, 502, 1345, 1450, 2506, 2570
- λοιδορέω 1639
- λοιδορος 2372; cf. κορώνη
- \*λυκοκέρδων, \*λυκοκέρκων, of dubious sense: τῶν γὰρ Ἀρείου λυκοκέρδων (v.l. -κέρκων μύστων) 857
- λύκος 2365 (the Lord regards τοὺς κλέπτας ὡς τοὺς λ.), 2521, 2565, 3661
- λυμεών 2028, 2617, 4037
- λύμη 2303 (cf. note ad loc.), 2383
- [\*]λυμικός: τῇ λ. νόσω 2387 (cf. λύμη)
- λυρίζω 1702 (as v.l. for συρίζω), 3854
- λύσις solution 3086, 3433; permission 3869
- λύσσα, as a word of abuse 782
- \*λυσσόγερος = λυσσώδης γέρων (cf. καλόγερος) 136 (v.l. for Αἰθίοψ); also *DigAkr*, rec. E, ed. Trapp. 1510 (“rasender Greis”)
- λύχνος, 555 in problematic context; τοῖς τῷ λ. προσηλωμένοις, of the Jews 3060f.
- λωποδύτης 1859, 1864
- λωρόπους (v.l. λουρό-), of the serpent-legged giants in a Gigantomachy relief 1922; νοητὸς λ. 1926
- λώρος 1766
- Λώτ *d* 309 (E)
- μά: μὰ τὸν (with or without κύριον or δεσπότην) Ἰησοῦν or Χριστόν 1326, 1425, 1496, 1615, 1879, 2087, 3070; μὰ τὸν νυμφίον μου Χριστόν 2885f.; μὰ τὸν ἀσάλευτον θρόνον καὶ τὴν τούτου εὐπρέπειαν 1428; μὰ τὸν μάρτυρα τῆς ἀληθείας *d* 203; cf. θεός
- μαγγανεία, of the wiles of the devil 783
- μαγεία 2617, 3259 (the Jews believed that Jesus worked miracles ἐκ μ.), *d* 166
- μάγειρος 101, 970
- μάγισσα 3962
- μάγος 2362, 2507, 2511, 2635, 2638, *a* 112
- μαίνομαι 92, 100, 895, 897, 1381, 1962, 2215, 2374, 3777, 3938, *a* 95
- Μάϊος May 4390
- Μακεδονία 3897
- Μακεδών: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μ. 4053
- Μακέλλης: Λέων ὁ Μ. 110
- μακροθυμία 1463
- μακρόθυμος 1852, 4347, *e* 46, *e* 90 (E)
- μαλαγμός 309



μαλακία 2164 (see note ad loc.)

μαλακός 1036f., *a* 79

\*μαλωτίσκιν 277

μαλωτίσκον or -ος 300 (quoted by Du Cange), 431

μαλωτόν 277, 431

μάμμη 1836

μαμωνᾶς: μ. in the NT explained as a publican, robber etc. 3394f.; μ. λέγεται ὁ τῆς πλεονεξίας δαίμων 3397

μανία 1967, 2551 (τὴν ἄλμυρὰν μ. τῆς φιάλεώς μου), 2715 (of the devil), 3936, 4089, *d* 154

μανουάλιον candlestick (with wax candle, carried in a funeral procession) 1503

μαντεύομαι, of the devil *d* 163

μάντις, of Andrew 1186

μαργαρίτης 53, 3190 (St John the Theologian living in the world likened to a μ. ἐν μέσῳ βορβόρου), 3600 (of a pigeon's eyes), 3686 (of St Akakios), *a* 157 (of Andrew)

μαργαρώδης: μ. ὄμβρους δακρύων 913, στέμμα βασιλικὸν καὶ μ. ἐκ λίθων 2882

Μαρία 2949, 4095, *e* 2; see also θεοτόκος, θεομήτωρ, θεογεννήτρια

Μαριανοῦ: see Μαυριανοῦ

μάρμαρον 1190, *e* 70 (E)

μαρμαρυγή 1805, *e* 106

μαρτυρέω 415 (of God), 924 (of Christ), 3434 (of the Holy Ghost), 3440 (of the Paraclete), 4084 (of the martyrs under Antichrist)

μαρτυρία 3438, 3441 (ἡ μ. κυρίου, explained as the Holy Ghost), 4007 (φέρω εἰς μ.)

μαρτύριον: τὰ τῶν ἁγίων μ. 30; εἰς μ. λογισθήσεταιί μοι 473; the martyrism of Christ 1094; τὸν τοῦ μ. στέφανον 3198; shrine 3466

μάρτυς, in general 1098, 3546, 3557, 4282 (God as a witness); *d* 203 (μὰ τὸν μ. τῆς ἀληθείας, uttered by a philosopher); *e* 67 (E), *e* 72; of St Anastasia 109, 115, 128, 133, 218; of St Akakios 3652, 3655, 3657, 3667 (μ. τῆς ἀληθείας), 3681, 3686, 3699, 3703, 3718ff.; of St Thyrsos 3526, 3542; of St Hippolytos 4013

\*ματαιοκοπέομαι labour in vain 2568; also in Theognostos, *Thesaurus*, ed. Munitiz, XV<sup>2</sup>, 882; the active form recorded from Theodore of Stoudios by G. Fatouros, *StudbyLex*, 143

μαυλιστής 2369

Μαυριανοῦ: τῷ ἐμβόλῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ τὰ Μ. (v.l. Μαριανοῦ) 3462

μαῦρος, of Ethiopians 45, 47; of demons 147, 3292; of the soul of a fornicator 3391

- μαφόριον 1886, 1904, 3747 (the veil of the Theotokos)  
 μάχομαι: aor. part. μαχισθέντες, μαχεθέντες 3923f.  
 μεγάλη ἐκκλησία: see ἐκκλησία  
 μεγαλομάρτυς, of St Thyrsos 3464; of St Akakios 3635, 3678, *e* 66; for the accent, cf. καλλιμάρτυς  
 μεγαλόφθαλμος, of St John the Theologian 143  
 μεγαλόψυχος 6  
 μέγας *passim*; Λέοντος τοῦ ... καὶ μ. 9; τὴν μ. δέσποιναν, of the Mother of God 2670; εἷς τις τῶν μ. 3762; τοῦ μ. Βασιλείου, Father of the Church 4133; cf. ἐκκλησία, κύρις, ὀφθαλμός  
 μεγέθης = μέγας 3234 (μεγεθέστερον), 3737 (μεγεθεστάτην)  
 μεγιστάν 2691, 3850  
 μεγιστάνος 1034, 1499, 1541 (gen. pl. -άνων), 1540f., 1860, 2869  
 μέθεξις: τῇ μ. θεός 2918  
 μέθη 297, 1267, 2165 (see βυθίζω), 2378, 3555  
 μεθύσκομαι 2270, 2279  
 μεθύω: ἐποίει ἑαυτὸν ὡς μεθύοντα, of Andrew 743, 1282; the Lord regards τοὺς μεθύοντας ὡς τοὺς δαιμονῶντας 2368; 3483  
 μεῖραξ 373, 855, 2934  
 μεῖωσις, of the demons 2515  
 μέλαν ink *a* 154  
 μελανόομαι: μεμελανωμένος 1365, 1479, 1855, 2930  
 μέλας *passim* (about 15 times); 1974 (of a eunuch appearing in a vision), 2487 (of a dog appearing in a dream), 2730 (of the demon of fornication); ὡς οἱ μέλανες 2929f.  
 μελετάω, of bird singing 1702  
 μελέτη θανάτου 812  
 μεληδόν limb from limb 3947  
 μέλι: ὡς μ. γλυκύ 322, 3698; πνευματικοῦ μ. 617; πηγαὶ βρύουσαι γάλα καὶ μ. 699, *similiter* 2936; λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ μ. τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος 992; ὑπὲρ μ. καὶ κηρίον *a* 58  
 μελίρρυτος, of the Life of Andrew 5; μ. τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ 809; of διδασκαλία 916, γνῶσις 1616, celestial water 2703, St Akakios 3664, the hearts of the saints 4099  
 μελισταγής 524 (φντά in heaven), 682 (φωνή)  
 μέλος limb 306 (τὰ κρυπτὰ αὐτοῦ μ.), 487, 1619, 2909 (ἀόρατά τινα μ., of the soul)  
 μέλος song, melody 596, 613, 689, 2654  
 μέλω: μέλει μοι περί and the like 162, 267; οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μέλει ἀπὸ 1426; μέλει τῷ θεῷ and the like 270, 737, 4005 (with acc. w. inf.); μηδὲν μελήσας ἐπορεύετο 1878

μελωδέω 1704, 2654, 2672

μελωδία, of bird song in paradise 543

\*μελωδιστής, of angels singing in heaven 611

μένω, w. dat. 2763

μερίζω: ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν μεριζόμενος 702

μερικῶς 1204

μεριμνάω 163; μεριμνήσει for μελήσει 952; κύριε, μερίμνησόν μοι φαγεῖν 3283

μερίς: οὐχ ἔξεις μερίδα ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ 1389

μέρος: ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς μ. 12; side 44, 45; τοῦ ἀρκτώου μ. 586; 3151 in part (?); τοῖς μεσημβρινοῖς μ. d 41

μεσάζω be in the middle of doing something, w. acc. 1778

μέση: ἐπὶ μέσεως (for the gen., see φιάλη) 2130, 2280, 4262; κατακοπὴν τῆς μέσεως 3888–901

μεσήλιξ of medium height 3687

μεσημβρινός d 41, e 85 (ἐν ὁμιχλώδει καὶ μ. τόπω)

μεσιτεία, of Andrew 3756

μεσιτεύω, of Andrew 3757

μεσίτης, of Andrew 3726

μεσολαβέω, pass., be in the middle of two extremes 198

μέσον: μ. εἰς 1831

μεσονύκτιον 96, 132, 2560, 3679, 3735

μεσοπεντηκοστή d 211

Μεσοποταμία 3934

μεταβάλλω, refl., of a demon and the like 753, 2099

μετάβλησις 752

μετανοέω 2825, d 88

μετάνοια: ἤρχοντο εἰς μ. 1166, *similiter* 1430; καθᾶραι διὰ μ. 1384; μ. καὶ ἐπιστροφή 2324; διὰ μ. καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως a 103; 1370, 2063, 2301, a 122 and 165

μεταξύ = ἐν 1704, 2149

μετατίθημι: μετετέθηκεν e 129

μετεμψύχωσις 3183

μετεωρισμός entertainment 237

μετέωρος 426; τὰ κάλλη τῶν στρουθίων ... παράδοξα καὶ μ. 539

μετριάζω jest a 176, b 3

μετριοπαθέω jest 126, 1883, a 174

μετριοπαθῶς jestingly 1239f.

μέτριος: μ. παιγνίοις, to compare w. the preceding? 794

μήτηρ: ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τῶν ἰδίων μ. 2927; μίγνυται ... υἱὸς μητρί 3863; 3868 (cf. πορνεύω); σφάζουσιν ... μ. θυγατέρα καὶ θυγάτηρ μ. 3965



- μηχάνημα contrivance, trick 71, 893, 951, 1670  
μηχανικός: τὸ μ. v.l. for μηχάνημα 1670  
μιαίνω 1549, 2525, 2717, 2860, 2864, 2883, 3799, 3973, *b* 6  
μιαρός 954, 1449, 1557, 2008, 2026, 3539  
μίασμα 3973, 4064  
μιερεὺς 3419*f*.  
μιλιαρήσιον 333  
\*μιλιώτης: beggars, whom people rightly call καύκους μ., rob Andrew 1239*f*.; see note ad loc.  
μimάριον brothel 251, 298; cf. *VNiph*, ed. Rystenکو, 124,11 ἦν ... λίαν ἄσεμνος σχολάζων εἰς τὰ μιμάρια τῶν καταγωγίων; also *ibidem*, line 17  
μimάς whore 298, 2207, 2439  
μίμησις 32, 35  
μιμολογέομαι mock as in a mime, of young men beating Andrew 244  
μιμολογία mockery 2378  
μισάνθρωπος 1544, 1887 (δαίμων)  
Μιχαήλ, the archangel Michael 2994, *d* 254  
μνεία: μν. ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιεῖν ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσί μου 2103; ταῖς μν. τῶν ἁγίων *a* 44, *e* 11, *e* 13 (E); μν. τῆς ἐαυτῶν ψυχῆς εἰσπράττονται *a* 85  
μνήμα 1885, *d* 76–9  
μνημεῖον 1522, 1588, 1874, *a* 99, *d* 77, *d* 341 (E) (of Muhammad)  
μνήμη, feast day 3516; ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μν. 3560; of Andrew *e* 3  
μνησικακία 1113, *a* 33 and 144 (μν., ἡ πρώτη τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου θυγατέρων), *d* 167  
μνησίκακος 1543, 2830, *a* 147  
μοιχαλὶς 2840, 3794  
μοιχεῖα 1113, 2164, 2182, 3555, *a* 33, 43 and 124, *b* 7 and 10, *d* 168  
μοιχεύω 2244, 2834, 2848, 3782  
μοιχός 1542, 2084, 2296, 2356, 2362 (compared to τοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἀπολέσαντας), 2830, 3504, 3765, 3779, *a* 79  
\*μοιχοστάσιον place where adultery is committed 3478*f*. (μοιχοστασίους), 3509*f*. (μοιχοστασίους), 3765 (τὰ μοιχοστασία [sic])  
μολύνω 904 (τὴν καρδίαν), 2167, 3375 (χοῖρος ... οὐ τὰ ἔνδον αὐτοῦ μ.)  
μοναδικός: τοῦ μ. ἐπαγγέλματος 2081; εἰς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὸ μ. 3053; μ. σχῆμα 4323  
μονάζω: ἱερεῖς καὶ μονάζοντας 3928, 3935  
μοναπλοῦς 3337 (opp. διπλοῦς)  
μονάστρια 3866  
μοναχικός: μ. σχῆμα 4325

μοναχός 1952, 1953, 1956, 2023, 2029, 2041, 2043, 2094, 2100, 2107, 2115, 3866, *d* 214

\*μόνδιος (?): γύναιον ... αἰσχροὺν μόνδιον 3961

μονή: μ. αἰωνία 2341; see note ad loc.

μονογενής 723, 3003, 3027, 3260, 3320, 4027, 4035, 4324, *e* 49

μονοειδής 201

μονόλογος simple 201 (v.l. for μονοειδής); cf. \*τρίλογος

μονομαχέω 713

μονότροπος 202

μόρφωμα 1968f.

μόρφωσις icon 3557f., 3975

μόςχος musk 588, 1036

μουκίζω 3525, 3528

μύησις *d* 182

μυθολογέω 2997

μῦθος fiction: some people regard the Christian message as μ. 2841

[\*]μυκάομαι = μωκάομαι 1569

[\*]μυκάω = μωκίζω (μουκίζω) 2666 (aor. ἐμύκησαν)

[\*]μυκίζω = μωκίζω (μουκίζω) 3525, 3528

μυκτηρίζω 3525, 3528, 3550

μύλος: ὡς μ. γυροβολουμένον 3996

μύλων: πάλιν τῷ μ. ἀλήθωμεν, Andrew to himself as if to an ass 2701f.

Μυρέλαιον 1468; see also app. crit.

μυριάς: μύριαι μ. καὶ χίλιαι χιλιάδες 1741; μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδων 2993; ἑκατὸν μ. *d* 294 (E); τῶν μυρίων μ. *e* 70

μυρίζω: μεμυρισμένε, to St Akakios 3657; the angels have the sweet smell of the Godhead 4180; of the corpses of the righteous *a* 102; ἡ κτίσις ... ὡς τὸ μύρον εὐωδιάζουσα καὶ μυρίζουσα *d* 146

μύριος = μυρίος 1741 (see μυριάς)

\*μυριόφθογγος 1703, cf. μυριοβαφής, frequent in *VBasIun*, e.g. fol. 101<sup>v</sup>, ed. Veselovskij, 38,16 ἀπανγάσματα μυριοβαφῇ

μυρίπνοος 4158

μύρμηξ 2691

μύρον 81 (μ. πνευματικοῖς), 91 (there emanated from Andrew a fragrance ὥσπερ μ. πολυτίμου), 186, 588, 1017 (μ. τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς, in address), 1468 (ref. to the Myrelaion), 3671, 4237, 4242 (ἀτμὶς μύρου), 4372, 4375, 4380, 4384, *a* 19 and 38 (ἀτμὶς μύρου), *d* 145, *e* 90–9, *e* 119–27 (E)

μῦς, of sinners 2329, 2349, 2364; of Satan 3492; as food for the unclean peoples 4056

μυσαρός 1548, 4107

μυσάπτομαι 324, 482, 2604, 3761

μύσος 3798–802, 4061

μυστήριον *secret* 147, 3608; *wonder, miracle* 1197, 1211, 1212, 1332, 3440; *celestial marvel* 1735; *sacrament* 928, 2835, 3518, *a* 34

μύστης 857, 1767 (ὁ μ. τῆς τριάδος), 2548

μυωπάζω *a* 120

Μωάμεδ *d* 329 (E)

μωκάομαι 1569

μωκάω 2666

μωκίζω 2666, 3525, 3528

μωραίνω 3567

μωρία: ἡ διὰ κύριον μωρία 1202

\*μωροποιία 1202; also *VBasIun*, fol. 45, ed. Veselovskij, 311, 28 and 32

μωρός, of νεωτερισταί *τινες* attacking Andrew 245, 247; *τινὲς δὲ μ. ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ κόσσους* 3567; Andrew says of himself: *μωροῖς συμ-φυρόμενος ὡς μ. ἐπάλαιον* 1229; *μ. γὰρ ἐκάλει τοὺς ὀλεθρίους δαίμονας* 1231; *μ. ἐαντὸν προφασισάμενος παίζει τὸν κόσμον* 3573; see also 1489, 3869, 3922

Μωϋσῆς 1433 (acc. Μωσέα), 3059 (acc. Μωϋσῆν), 3060, *d* 83 and 84, *d* 323 (E)

Ναζαρηνός 2736

ναός, of St Anastasia 109, 127, 218; of the Theotokos 1315, 1597; of the Apostles 1821, 1827; 2149, 2267; *v. τοῦ διαβόλου* 2371; of St Thyrsos 3523; of St John the Baptist 3648; of St Akakios 3650–3; what will become of the churches of CP at the Judgment? 3812; St Sophia 3981; God does not live ἐν χειροποιήτοις *v.* 4041; Epiphanius must not erect a church to honour Andrew after his death *e* 3; see also 3844, 3889, 3974

νάρθηξ 1626, 3651

ναύκλα = ναῦς 3932

νεανίας, Christ, or an angel, in the guise of 50ff., 83, 490, 605, 963, 1339, 1343, 1372, 1525, 2012, 2728; = Epiphanius 795, 861, 865, 925, 950, 1698, 1712, 1725, 2716; a young man 1033, 1085, 1398, 1399, 1460, 1460, 2125, 2138, 2203

νεανίσκος (cf. *foreg.*) 372, 629, 872, 1242, 2125, 2142, 2782, 3953

νέος 38, 271, 287, 393, 411, 712, 1072, 1346, 1480, 1486, 2125, 2170, 2271, 2275, 2290, 3063 (νομοθέτης τῆς *v.* χάριτος, of St Paul), 3066 (*bis*: τῷ *v.* νομοθέτῃ; τῆς *v.* χάριτος), 3307ff., 3478

νεότης 861, 990, 1063, 2168, 2172, 2235, 2272, 2636, 2640; *v.* ώραία = ώραῖος νεανίας 2131, 3720

νεούργημα *d* 136



νεοφώτιστος newly baptized 3403

νεύσις 835, 836; νεύσει θεοῦ with God's consent, by God's dispensation 1821, 1889, 2138, 3916

νεύω beckon, command (of God or an angel) 615, 3114, 3211

νεφέλη: καταπετάσματα v. φωτεινῇ εἰκοτά 609; ὡς ἐπὶ v. πορεύομαι 621; χιτῶνα ὥσπερ v. φωτεινῇ 703; 2999 (see θρόνος); from where do the clouds get their rain? 3110f.; in explanation of the lightning 3155; in a passage on the nature of the snow 3228; τεῖχος νεφέλης 4308

νέφος 1796, 3055 (clouds cover the heaven beneath), 3117f. (how they get their rain)

Νεώριον 2425

νεωτεριστής young rascal 234

νεώτερος 1947, 2177, 2504, 2510, 3921 (of three evil apocalyptic rulers), *b* 3

νήπιος: νοῆσαι νήπια 3442, νήπιοι ταῖς φρεσίν, of the apostles 3443; τῶν τριῶν v., of the disciples and fellow martyrs of St Babylas 4201

νήσος: ἔσονται δὲ αἱ v. εἰς ἐρήμωσιν 3897; τὰς κυκλάδας τῶν v. 3935, 4065f., 4076f.; πενήθει γὰρ Ἀσία τὰς v. καὶ αἱ v. τὴν Ἀσίαν 4066

νηστεία 901, 930, 1225, 2134, 2498, 2922, 3630, *a* 12 and 83, *e* 51 (E)

νηστεύω 806, 1457, 1983, 2257, 2268, 2718, *b* 12

νήστης 273, 943

νηφάλαιος 18

νήπις: εἰς v. γενόμενος 1841

Νικηφόρος, priest at St Sophia, author of VA 4392, *e* 154 (E)

Νικόλαος, a future bishop *c* 22

νοερός: of angels 652; μέλος 689; the essence of the soul defined as v. πνεῦμα 2906; τοῦ v. καὶ πυρφόρου στόματος, of God's λόγος 2940; at first God created v. τε καὶ ἄλλον κόσμον 2982; v. γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ 3022; τὰ v. στρατεύματα 3068; τῶν v. δυνάμεων (in heaven) 3071; τὰ v. τε καὶ αἰσθητά 4276; τῷ νοερῷ spiritually 4305 (si v.l.); τὰ v. αἰσθητήρια 4359; τὸ v. ὄμμα or τὰ v. ὄμματα 486, 1051, 1155, 1870, 3467, *d* 67; οἱ v. ὀφθαλμοί 2089, 3084, *a* 123; see also διάνοια

νοητός 1124 (cf. ποτήριον); v. λωρόπους 1926 (opp. τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς 1925); κινυρίσματα 2672; the apostles are v. οὐρανοί 3135; v. νόημα, of Bible citation 3246; ὁδός 3313; αἰσθητήρια 3362; 4162 (to be compared with 3246); περιστεραὶ *a* 38; *a* 122 (cf. θηρίον); see also διάβημα

νοητῶς 2930, *a* 134 and 140

νοθεύω, of heretics 3182

νόθος, of Andrew's ῥήματα 113, 131; of his acting 1005

νόμισμα 2684, 2685, *d* 193

νόσημα 2384

νόσος 2305, 2387, 3770, *a* 10 (τῆς ἁμαρτίας)

νόστος taste, flavour 2197

νοτάριος 23

νοῦς: οἶαν *v.* ἀνθρώπου εἰπεῖν οὐ δύναται 55, *similiter* 184, 4254, 4290; ἡρπάζετο ὁ *v.* μου εἰς ἔκστασιν 537, *similiter* 3541; the Father defined as *v.* 842, *similiter* 3019–21; ὅλον πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν *v.* εἶχεν 938; ὁ ἐκ *v.* τοῦ μεγάλου τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς γεννηθεῖς 1577f.; εἰς *v.* βαλλομένους, *w.* acc. 1664; ἔξηχε τῷ νοί 1925; the Lord regards the fornicators as τοὺς τὸν *v.* ἀπολέσαντας 2362; 2955 (cf. λαμβάνω); *v.* τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, in definition of διάκρισις 3355; sin is committed not τῷ σώματι, but τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ *v.* καὶ τῷ πνεύματι 3371; ἔχων κατὰ *v.* 3405; πάντα *v.* ὑπερέχοντα 4177, *similiter* 4376f., *e* 113, *e* 143 (E); τὸν ἡγεμόνα *v.* *d* 182; and elsewhere; for *v.* καὶ διάνοια, see διάνοια

νύκτα: ὡς νύκτα καχέσπερος 2051; cf. *VPhilar*, ed. Fourmy–Leroy, 165,2 ὡς τρίχα ὑπάρχουσα

νύμφη, with πενθερά in proverb 4151

Νῶε 3827, 3857, *d* 96, *d* 309 (E)

ξανθόκομος (vv. ll. ξανθήκομος, ξανθοκόμος) 372, 968

ξανθός: τὸ ξ. γένος = the Rhos 3821f.; τὰ ξ. γένη 3841, 3932

ξενοπρεπῶς strangely 519

ξηροκοιτέω sleep on a hard bed 943; cf. *VBasilun*, fol. 112, ed. Veselovskij, 47,4 νηστεύων, ἀγρυπνῶν, ξηροκοιτῶν

[\*]ξίαρων = ἐξάερων open place 1792; cf. *Patria*, in Preger, *Scriptores*, 283,12 τὸ ἐξάερων, vv. ll. τὰ ἐξάερα, τὰ ξίαρα

ξόανον: τῷ Πυθίῳ ξ., at Daphne, Antioch 4199

ξύλιнос, of icons 3418

ξύλον: 312, 2513; τὸ ξ. ἔκρουσεν 127 (see also κρούω); ξύλα ῥοπάλων 135; of the Holy Cross 3154, 3915, 3919; ἐπὶ τοῦ ξ. ἀναρτηθέντα ξέεσθαι καὶ αἰκίζεσθαι 4218; also 4219, 4227, 4229, 4251

ὀβολός 344, 347, 357, 367, 1031, 1226, 1233, 2687, *d* 195; cf. λεπτόν, φολερόν, φύλλις

ὄγδοος: ὁ ὀ. αἰὼν 2971

ὁδός *passim*; μεσολαβεῖται ἡ ὁ., referring to ἡ βασιλικὴ ὁδός 198; 3312 (interpretation of Prov. 8:22)

ὄζομαι *d* 332 (E)

ὀθόνη shift 1888, 1898, 1903; linen cloth 4238

οἰκέτης servant, *passim*; slave 13, 28, 95, 1085–96

οἰκονομέω 1300

οἰκονομία 3346

οικονόμος 2112

οἶκος: εὐκτήριος οἶκος 1294, 1467f.; αἱ θυρίδες τοῦ οἴ. σου your eyes 1876; οἴ. καὶ οἴ. καὶ θεοῦ ἀνάπαυσις 2665 (interpretation of Ps. 131:5); of the Mother of God and St Sophia 2671; οἴ. τοῦ θεοῦ *e* 138 (E); τῷ σεβασμίῳ οἴ. τοῦ μάρτυρος, the chapel of St Akakios 3702; ἁγίων οἴκους 3909f.; 4064 (see κύθρος)

οἰκουμένη 2691, 3878, 3912, 4958, 4103

οἶνανθάριον v.l. for βισσήριον 4236

οἶνος 236, 240, 352 (ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶ.), 396, 1015, 1031, 1262, 3248 (the λόγος of the Godhead defined as οἶ. ἄκρατος), 3267, *a* 180 and 181

ὀκτωκαίδεκα: ὁ. ἐτών of Eriphanios 807

\*ὀλεννύνω = ὀλέκω 4081

\*ὀλεννύω = ὀλέκω 4081, 4114

\*ὀλένω (in the form -αίνω) = ὀλέκω 4081, 4114

ὀλιγωρέω lose heart 2767

ὀλόσωμος 3472

ὀλοτελῶς 1584

ὀλοτρόπως 451

ὀλοψύχως 179, 448, 451, 2275, 2612, *e* 44 (E)

ὀμήλικος 4225

ὀμήλιξ 4225

ὀμιλία προτρεπτική, a homily by St Basil 4134

ὀμίχλη, among the infernal elements created by God in the third phase 3010

ὄμμα: διανοιγέντων τῶν ψυχικῶν αὐτῆς ὁ. 3564f. (cf. 4358 and see διανοίγω); νοερὸν ὁ. or νοερὰ ὁ. 1051, 1155 (τῆς διανοίας), 1870, 3467 (δικαίῳ καὶ νοερῷ ὁ.), 4309 (τῷ νοερῷ τε καὶ θεωρητικῷ τοῦ πνεύματος ὁ.); see also ὀφθαλμός, βλοσυρός, νοερός

ὀμόγνωμος, of the Trinity *e* 38

ὀμοδύναμος *e* 38

ὀμόθρονος, of the Trinity *e* 38

ὀμοιόσχημος 1760 (ὁ. εἰκόνα)

ὀμοιόω, intr., be like 3032

ὀμολογέω, of apocalyptic confessors 3894f.

ὀμολογητής: Eriphanios will become a confessor *e* 73

ὀμολογία: εἰς ὁ. ... ἔρχεσθαι 4327f.

ὀμοούσιος, of the Trinity 4101, 4339, *e* 82 (E)

ὀμοουσιότης, of Father and Son 822

ὀμόσωμος 3472

ὀμοφυής, of Father and Son 821, of the Son 1577, of the Trinity *e* 38

ὀμόφυλος fellow creature 749



ὁμφαλός: τὸν ὁ. τῆς κτίσεως, i.e. Jerusalem 3936f.

ὄναρ 1773, 1949; κατ'ὄ. 177, 1690, 2482, 2501, 2541, 2727

ὄνᾶριον, Andrew calls himself an ass 2703

ὄνομα *passim*; ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν by name 386f.; πετεινὰ καὶ στρουθία καὶ τέττιγες καὶ ἕτερα κατ'ὄ. ὠραῖα and other beautiful kinds with their names 533; = Jesus 3352 (interpretation of Ps. 58:3); ἀλλαγέντος καὶ τοῦ ὁ. σου ἐν τῷ μοναχικῷ σχήματι 4325; ἐλθέ, τὸ ὄ. τοῦ πατρός ... 4349

ὄνος: A. called an ass 338; ὄ. λακτίζων ... διὰ στενῆς ρύμης οὐκέτι διελεύσεται 2682; of sinners in Hades 2330, 2349, 2369; also as metaphor 2709, 2711

ὄνουξ (pl.), an instrument of torture 4228

ὄξύνω: ὄξυνόμενος καὶ μαινόμενος 3938

ὀπλίζω, of Andrew taking up arms against the demons 42

ὀπτασία 42, 130, 489, 922, 3732

ὄραμα 176, 1518; ἐν ὁ. τῆς νυκτός (Gen. 46:2 etc.) 2324, 2403f.

ὄρασις appearance 16, 72, 566 (ὡς χιόνος ὄ.), 1687, 2360; sight 827 (τῆς διανοίας), 838; vision 90, 1658, 1779, 2381, 2648, 2739, 3680, *a* 1, *d* 196 and 202, *e* 140 (E)

ὄρατός 3088, 3329; see also ἄορατος

ὄργανον: a demon speaks διὰ τῶν ὁ. of the possessed 1480, *similiter* 3493; God regards τοὺς κιθαρῳδοὺς ὡς τοῦ διαβόλου ὄ. 2376; φωνὴ ὁ. μουσικῶν *e* 108, *e* 136 (E)

ὀργή: πάλιν πρὸς ὁ. σου ἤκας; 1423f. (dubious phrase)

ὀρέγω, act., rouse somebody's desire 310

ὀρθοβατέω 3499

ὀρθρίζω 2136 (cf. δοξολογία); τῷ διαβόλῳ 3509f., 3782; τῷ σατανᾷ 3766

ὀρίζω: ἐνδοθεν τῆς ὀρισμένης within the time assigned 2303f.

ὄρκος 1488, 2370, 4382, *e* 125 (E)

ὀρκόω: ὀρκῶ δέ σε τὸν θεόν 462

ὄρνις, as a symbol for the soul 2212

ὄροφάσουλον mountain (=wild?) bean 932; noted by Du Cange s.v. φάσουλον

ὄρπηξ 3821f.

ὀρχέομαι, of Ethiopians 1515; God regards τὰς ὀρχουμένας γυναῖκας ὡς τὴν Ἡρῳδιάδα 2376; of demons 3469

ὀρχησις 1507 (of Ethiopians), 3968

ὄσος: ὅση = ἤτις 3312

ὄσπριον 929, 932, 995

ὀστράκινος: ὁ. ὑποδήμασι τῇ χροίᾳ, brick-coloured 877; οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ λίθινοι καὶ ... ὁ. 3419

ὁσφραίνομαι 618, 959, 961, 4185

ὁσφρησις organ of smell 320, 520, 597, 4154, 4186; smell 568

οὐγγία: τρεῖς οὐ. ἄλατος 2725

Οὐεσπασιανός, the Emperor Vespasian 3098

οὐράνιος 646 (στρατιά), 1824 (δυνάμεις), 2983 (*item*), 2990 (τάγματα), 3167 (πῦρ), 3170 (*item*)

οὐρανόθεν 1612

οὐρανός *passim*; περὶ οὐρανῶν ἐρμηνεία 3054; what is above the visible heaven? 3054; how many heavens are there? 3058; the apostles are νοητοὶ οὐ. 3135; nobody but the Son has ascended into heaven 3186f.; Anti-christ will fight against heaven 4089; above the firmament of heaven is ὁ ἀήρ 4294; heaven stands upon a river 4313f. (cf. *d* 38–40); what will happen to heaven and earth etc. after the Judgment? *d* 121f.

Οὐριήλ, the archangel Uriel 2994

οὐσία, of Father and Son 835, 846; of the soul 2849, 2906; of the aeons 2953; Christ has two essences 3043, 3053; of the Godhead 3081; of the lightning 3147, 3167; of light 3808f.; of the Ghost 4289; property 2443

οὕτως ἔχεις τὸν Χριστόν 58; cf. ἔχω

ὀφθαλμός: ὅπου δ' ἂν ἄρεστον τοῖς ὀ. σου ἐστὶν 165f.; ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο disappeared 169f.; the Ethiopian had eyes like a fox 317; Father and Son compared to the two eyes 834–6; τοὺς ὀ. ἀσπασάμενος ᾤχετο, of an angel 1619; ὁ μέγας ὀ., of the Lord's eye that foresees the future 3088; ἀγρίους ἔχων τοὺς ὀ., of an angel 3774; *a* 106; see also ὄμμα, διανοίγω, ἐτάζω, καπνός, νοερός, πολυόμματος, σκοτίζω

ὀφθαλμοφανῶς 118, 133, 3704, 3737

ὄφις, as a symbol of sins, sinners, Hades, the demon etc. 707, 787, 792, 1062, 1926, 2331, 2363, 2367, 2495, 3202ff. (transformed by the demon into a dragon), 3492 (of Satan), 3661, 3904 (the earth will be filled with serpents), *a* 71 (serpents hung from the limbs of sinners), *a* 90 (the serpents are demons), *a* 145

ὄχλαγωγία, of the devil and his demons 2561

ὀψίκιον, of the retinue of the Theotokos at Blachernae 3738

ὀψώνιον 1101

παγίω, of the πνεῦμα τῆς βροντῆς affecting the clouds 3120

παγκάκιστος 1441

πάγος ice 3049 (acc. πάγος), 3240 (acc. πάγον)

πάθος 310 (τὸ δυσώδες π. τῆς πορνείας), 1113, 1257, 1959 (τῷ π. τῆς φιλαργυρίας), 2355, 3004 (of Christ), 3397 (of avarice), *a* 16, 97, 121 and 133, *d* 169

παιγνιάζω 347; cf. ἐπαιγνιάζω, ὑποπαιγνιάζω

παίγνιον: δαιμόνων π. 1341, 1556; pl. games, pranks, tricks 794, 1402, 1481, 2378

\*παιγνίως 268

παιδάριον rascal 2377

\*παιδιέστερος more childish? 15

παιδίον 1240; see ἀρχιεπίσκοπος

\*παιδιώτερος more childish? 15

παιδοποιία, is the purpose of marriage 2244

παιδοφορία 2379

παίζω, of Andrew in his role as a holy fool 223, 245, 299, 337, 346, 347, 351, 1495, 1920, 2585 (παίζουντι καὶ σάσσοντι), 3461, 3574 (= ἐμπαίζω), 3673, 3759; 2246 (of sinners; see κτήνος)

παῖς *passim*; of Epiphanius 1710 etc.; οἱ π. τῆς πόλεως 1220; αἰρετικῶν παῖδες 3408; = οἰκέτης 1296 etc.

παίω: παῖοντες τὸν ἀνέχονα αὐτοῦ 236

πάκτον 3839

παλαιότης: ἀπὸ π. εἰς νεοῦργημα *d* 135

παλαιῶν: πεπαλαιωμένος 335 (ψιαθῖον), 753 (γραιῖς), 771 (ὁδοῦς)

παλαίω, with demons or the devil 48, 75, 78, 1229, 2775, 3197; against God 3971 (med. παλαίσασθαι)

παλάτιον, in CP 2870–5; metaph. of Sunday 2883; in heaven 176, 177, 179, 1731

πάλη 47, 1231

παλλακίς 3505

παλλίον 973 (for the accent, see app. crit.)

παμβέβηλος 1379, 1390, 1582, *a* 94

πάμμακαρ, of Symeon Salos *e* 9

παμμίαρος 1166, 1387, 1449, 2814

παμπόνηρος 903, 1671, 1799, 2741

πανάχραντος 1490, 3746, 3748, 3750

πανευπρεπής 2910

πανθαύμαστος 3613, 3656

πανίον (this is the spelling of most MSS), ref. ὁθόνη λευκή 4246; ῥυπώδη πανία ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ 1669

\*πανλαίμαργος 1367

πάννυχος: see στάσις

πάνσεπτος, of Epiphanius 1698; of the church of St Thyrsos 3523

πάντερπνος 1690

παντοκράτωρ 582, 993, 1212, 1561, 1577 (of the Holy Ghost), 1612, 1781, 3592, 3877, 3989, 4179, 4344, 4392, *e* 44, *e* 87 (E), *e* 119, *e* 154 (E)

πανύμνητος, of the Theotokos 1295



πανωραῖος 3316

παξαμάτιον biscuit 394 (v.l. παξαμαδ-), 1405 (v.l. παξι-)

παρά: w. gen. 50 times, w. dat. once, w. acc. once

παραβάτης, of Julian the Apostate 4202

παράγω = περιάγω 1041

παραβολή parable 1157, 1165

παραδειγματίζω 92 (ἐαυτόν), 1580, 1591, 2808, 2815, 2862, 3497

παράδεισος 54, 505, 518, 547, 550, 556, 618, 716 (the paradise of Christ), 740, 2975, 3297 (the souls of the righteous are in paradise), 3312 (every virtue leading to paradise is called 'road' by the Holy Writ), 3593, 4186  
παράδοξος 539, 578, 708, 733, 958, 961, 1183, 1316 (θέαμα), 1703 (φθεγγομένη παράδοξα, of a nightingale), 1734, 4260 (τὸ π.), *e* 112, *e* 143 (E)

παραδόξως 595, 4380, *e* 124 (E)

παρακλητικός: λόγοις π. 454

παράκλητος, of the Holy Ghost 846, 3348, 3440, *e* 50

παρακρούω drive mad 864

παραλαμβάνω bring 2325, 2558, 2932; capture 3818, 3942; carry away 2449 (θάνατος)

\*παραμονίτης (sic), v.l. for προσμονάριος sacristan *III*; also *VloEl*, ed. Festugière, XX, 3, XXIX, 5 (παραμονήτης)

παραμυθία 201, 449, 501 (= paradise), 1074 (Satan leads us astray to have us πρὸς π. αὐτοῦ in Gehenna), 1559, 3220, 3502, 3576

πράνοια 1403

παραπαίω: παραπαίοντες, v.l. for πάρετοι *1308*

παραπονέομαι: παραπονεμένος miserable 758; cf. Demetrakos s.v.

παρασαλεύω 2222, 2561, *d* 87

παρατιρώσκω 1010, 1063; cf. τιρώσκω

παρατρέπω: παρατετραμμένος (or sometimes παρατραπείς) crazy, of Andrew 103, 755, 758, 765, 774, 862, 1010, 1028f., 1054, 1252, *1305f.*, 1406, 1437, 1568, 1837, 1881, 1933, *2139*; ἐπαρατέτραπτο *1256f.*; of others *1305f.*, 3720 (ἴδε ποία νεότης ώραία καὶ παρατρέπεται); cf. ἀλήθεια

παρατροπή 96, *1100*

\*παραφθονέω 3000

παραφρονέω 106, 112, 234f.

\*παραφύρω: παραπεφυρμένος confused, crazy 1069, 1305f., 1331, 2703; cf. φύρω

παραφύσιν (?) 3663, see note ad loc.

παρεάω 2232, 2276, *a* 151

παρεδρεύω 591, 1061, 1668, 1977

παρέλευσις passing away 4003

\*παρεμπείρω = ἐμπείρω 1800f.

\*παρεμφύρω 1030; cf. παραφύρω

πάρετος spiritually paralytic, crazy 358 (τῇ ψυχῇ), 755, 1308, 1566 (of Andrew), 2503, 2680

παρέχω: aor. part. παρεξάσῃ 1617

παρθενεύω 1860, 2236

παρθένος: ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐλεύσει πάσαις ταῖς ἁγίαις π. 1900; the Virgin Mary 4095

παροδεύω walk about 739 (cf. 274 πεζεύων ἐν τοῖς ἐμβόλοις); pass 1714 (cf. διοδεύω)

παροδίτης 1028

πάροδος: ὡς ἐν π. 298f., 780, 1004 (ὡς ἐν π. τῆς δημοσίας ὁδοῦ); 1655 (π. αὐτῷ ἐγένετο)

παροιμιακός: π. ζητημάτων 812

παρουσία: τοῦ κυρίου 4122; τῆς δευτέρας π. d 125, f 17

παρρησία freedom of speech, freedom of access to a person or to God 2484, 3756f., e 14, e (E) 20 and 43

πᾶς: τὸ π. τοῦ (τῆς) = ὁ π. (ἡ π.) 1910, 3425, 3981; διὰ π. ἡμέρας (νυκτός), all day (night) long 1595, 1680, 4369

πασχικός: comb. w. πεφυρμένος 1046; comb. w. πάρετος 2503

πάσχω, of Andrew as a σαλός 220, 304, 1257; suffer from the assault of the devil 3623

πατήρ *passim*; the father of the demons 157, 2735, 3473, d 162

πατρίκιος 339

Παῦλος, St Paul 286, 1434, 1633, 1794, 2836, 3062, 3104, 3324, 3366, 4011, 4029, 4122, 4139, a 46, e 65 (E); see also Πέτρος

πάχος: τὰ σκωληκόβρωτα π. τῶν γυναικῶν 2215

παχύς, of a rich man 2681; παχύτερόν μοι λέξον, more concretely 2951

πεδιάς, a spiritual plain or meadow 696, 1690, 2117, 2471

πεδίον = foregoing 697

πειράζω 201, 1654, 2754

πειρασμός 171, 1799, 2184, 2192, 2199, 2752, 2771, 2779, 3615, 3623

πειρατήριον temptation 706; test 831

πέλαγος, of Holy Writ 1257; the sea of the abyss 3999, 4307; of the extension of the space above the firmament 4298; τῆς νηστείας a 27

πέλω = εἰμί 1390, 1578, 1691

πένης 345, 426, 469, 1049, 1183, 1235, 1650, 1959, 1969, 2113, 2139, 2465, 2685, 3826, 3851, 4340, 4389, e 29, 40 and 115, e (E) 41, 83 and

150

- πενθερά: with νόμφη in proverb 4152  
 πενθέω: Asia will mourn for the islands and the islands for Asia 4066; the peoples will mourn for 660 days 4067  
 πένθος 4048; cf. τεσσαράκοντα  
 πενία 2184, 3825 (God will raise a kingdom from poverty)  
 πενιχρός 1451, 4374, *c* 4, *e* 92  
 πεντακόρυφος with five domes 1821  
 πέντε 117 (St Anastasia appears in a procession of five women), 360  
 περίαυλον = αὐλή 1731; cf. προαύλιον  
 [\*]περίβλεμμα for περίβλημα 321  
 περιβόλαιον 233, 330  
 περίβολος 1730  
 [\*]περίδεμμα for περίδημα 969  
 περίειμι = εἰμί 637, 722, 2189, 2898, 3535  
 περιεργία: ἐκ π. γυναικείας 1256  
 περιθάλλω 3013  
 περιοδεύω treat, cure 121, *d* 89  
 περίοδος: ἐν μιᾷ π. τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐργασίας 1291; ἐν ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς π. 1792  
 περιπατέω walk 298, 300, 1792, 3559, 3565, 3570, 3789 (πῶς περιπατῶμεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ), *b* 2; cf. διοδεύω, παροδεύω  
 περίπατος colonnade = ἔμβολος 3461; π. τόπος, same sense 4368; ἐν τοῖς τοῦ π. τόποις *e* 84  
 περιστερὰ, a celestial dove 661, 3589, *a* 36 and 39; of the Holy Ghost 3104  
 περιστοιχειόω: εὐπρεπεῖα περιστοιχειούμενον surrounded by, or radiating, an air of majesty 964  
 \*περιφθονέω v.l. for παραφθονέω 3000  
 Πέρσης 4197  
 πέταλον: τὴν δέρριν ἐφαπλούμενος ὡς π. χρυσοῦν, of the third heaven 638  
 πετεινόν 533, 1705, 3903, *d* 145  
 Πέτρος, St Peter 3003; the oratory of Sts Peter and Paul 1794; Π. καὶ Παῦλος φυλακτήριόν σου (of Epiphanius) ἔσονται *e* 65 (E)  
 πηγὴ, in paradise 698; Andrew compared to a source 2936; τῆς ἀθανάτου π., of the Gospels 3133  
 πηλός: see ὕδατόστατος  
 πηθήκιον: the demon of miserliness in the shape of a π. 356  
 πίναξ σκοτώδης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος plate 2340 (cf. 2408)  
 πίσσα: pitch and brimstone 1521, 1581, 1592  
 πίστις 387 (π. καὶ πόθος), 1197, 1472, 2582, 3108, 3448, 3931 (see κρατέω)  
 πλάκωμα = πλακωτόν paved surface 1920, 1935; cf. Demetrakos s.v.  
 πλανάω 147, 280, 1073, 2771, 3414, 4014, 4082, 4332, *d* 331 (E)



πλάνη 3270 (πίνουσιν ἐν τῇ τρυγίᾳ τὴν πλ., of the Jews), 3536, 4075

πλάνος 4077–80

πλάξ: write down my words ἐπὶ πλακὸς καρδίας σου *e* 29

πλαστοουργός Creator 4344, *e* 45

πλατεία: ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῆς πόλεως 223; μέσον τῆς πλ. κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην 1820; μέσον εἰς τὰς πλ. καὶ ῥύμας τῆς πόλεως 1831; κατὰ τὴν πλ. τῆς λεωφόρου 2403; 337, 1494; cf. *VNiph*, ed. Rystenko, 142, 18 ἐν τινι τόπῳ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως καλουμένου τοῦ Βοός

πλειοτέρως 1643, *d* 158

πλείστως 245

πλείων, n. pl. πλέα 2332 (*si vera lectio*)

πλέκω: ἐγὼ σοι πλέξω ἀμφίβληστρον 880f.

πλεονεξία, the demon of 3397

πληθύνω: βλέπων ἑαυτὸν πληθυνόμενον seeing his money grow 1962

πλήρης, inflection: πλήρη χειλίδων 1700, περιάυλον πλήρη 1731, δένδρον ... πλήρη 2118

πλησίον, often = at, to, e.g. 2933, 3465

πλουσιοπαρόχος 3076–82

πλούσιος 1498, 2676, 2674–6, 2689, 2693, 3159 (ἡ ὁρμή τῆς ἀστραπῆς), 3829, 3857 (cf. θάλασσα)

πλουτέω: δύο προσηγορίας πλουτοῦσα 3048; 3850

πλουτίζω 1013, 3826

πλούτος 581–3 (in heaven), 3283, 3822

πλώϊμος: χαρτουλάριος πλωϊμων 3769

πνεῦμα, Holy Ghost 826, 837ff., 1106, 1577, 2016–18, 2299, 2919–24 (cf. πῦρ), 2937, 3017f. (in the σύνθεσις of man, εὐπνοια corresponds to the Holy Ghost), 3027, 3104f., (St Paul on the Holy Ghost), 3109, 3139 (defined as βροντή), 3139f. (John the Evangelist is its “son”), 3265, 3353, 3361 (see νοῦς), 3437–9 (see μαρτυρία), 3452, 4100, 4167, 4190, 4272, 4277, 4339, *a* 32. Of evil spirits 295, 740, 1273, 1341, 1466, 1654, 1668 (serving a demon), 2450, 4205 (of Apollo at Daphne); see further ἀκάθαρτος. Spirit of man: τὼν ἀμαρτωλῶν τὰ πν., in Hades 2409; ἡ ψυχὴ ... σὺν τῷ πν. 2421f.; 3371 (see νοῦς); τῷ νοεῶ τε καὶ θεωρητικῷ τοῦ πν. ὁμματι 4309; ἀφήκεν τὸ πν. *e* 91; τῷ πν. or ἐν πν. spiritually 1104, 1320, 1463, 2094, 3713 etc. (see also γινώσκω, νοερός). Other cases: of winds in paradise 565, 577, 579, 586; τὸ πν. ὅπερ εἰς τηλικαύτην ἀπάγει ἀναισθησίαν 1269; τῷ πν. τῆς λήθης 1336; α πν. ἐξ ἀνατολῶν stripped the dragon of his power 2097; of the aeons 2954, 2989; ἀρεῖ πν. φοβερὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν 2963; τὸ πν. τῆς βροντῆς, how it works (interpretation of Gen. 9:13) 3115–24; πν. λευκόν, as explanation of the whiteness of snow 3229; πν. θεῖω 3580; πν. δυνάμεως,

- of God 4116; τὰ τοῦ πν. things spiritual 4132, 4140, the Godhead is πν. 4285f.; ἔμπνευσον αὐτῷ πν. σοφίας, πν. ἰσχύος, πν. συνέσεως etc. 4361f. (cf. *e* 58ff., *e* 105ff. (E))
- πνευματικός 8 (ἀριστεύματα), 82 (μύρα), 232 (ἐργασία; also 2124, 2704), 589 (ὀφθαλμοί), 617 (μέλι), 1214 (σύναιμος), 1456 (ἔργα), 1605 (τέκνον), 2163 (διάθεσις), 2181 (τι), 2421 (τὰ πν.), 2430 (ἄνθρωπος), 2794 (ἔργα), 3022 (ψυχή), 3480 (τι τῶν πν.), 3741 (ἄσματα), 3744 (πάτερ μου πν.), 4174 (οἱ πν. πνευματικὰ ... κέκτηνται), 4271 (ὁμιλία), *a* 12 (ἀγάπη)
- πνευματικῶς 738
- ποθεινός; ποθεινότατε dearest *e* 61 (E)
- ποθέω: πεποθημένη dearest 1041
- πόθος affection, devotion 388, 461, 630, 3448, *e* 67 (E); π. πολλῷ 3730, 4192, 4267
- ποικιλία 1716
- ποικίλος 493, 1695, 1766, *a* 161
- πολεμέω, of the devil and his demon 802, 890, 939, 1392, 2482, 2777, *d* 159
- πολεμήτωρ, of the devil 864
- πόλεμος war 2749, 3826, 3831 etc.; war against the devil 2751; temptation 2726, 3616, 3700, 3725
- πολιά, pl., gray hair 759, 769
- πολιόω: γέρων πεπολιωμένος 875
- πόλις, of CP: ἡ π. 223, 286, 1239, 1794, 1818, 2093, 3853, 3991, 3997, 4003, 4038, *e* 137 (E); αὕτη or ἥδε ἡ π. 762, 3852, 3861, 3885, 3921, 3962, 3979, 3991, 4264; ἡ π. ἡμῶν 3817, 4046; ἡ βασιλὶς τῶν π. 4, 384, 1391, 1830f., 3656f., 4394, *d* 230, *e* 155f. (E); ἡ βασιλὶς π. 1853; ἡ βασιλεύουσα π. 1857, 2650, 3563; ἡ βασιλεύουσα τῶν π. *d* 33; π. κυρίου 3855; τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀγίας π. *e* 72 (E); ref. Jerusalem 4018; ref. Antioch 4206, 4210; in general 3874, 3882
- πολιτεία way of life 3, 33, 407, 804, 873 (cf. βίος), 1332, 1494, 2355; τῇ π. αὐτοῦ, his people 3850
- πολιτεύομαι follow a certain way of life, conduct oneself 2116, *e* 80
- πολίτης 353, 772, 1350
- πολλάκις: καθὼς πολλάκις εἴρηται 4104
- \*πολυλαίμαργος v.l. for πανλαίμαργος 1367
- πολυμήχανος, of the devil 37
- πολύμορφος 2954, 2988
- πολυόμματος 2050
- πολυπλασίως 582
- πολυωδύνως 2400



- πομπεύω, intr. 1915  
 πονηρεύομαι 2214, 3794, *d* 159  
 Πόντος 3961  
 πορνεία 306, 311, 315, 1113, 2168, 2182, 2279, 2369, 2715, 3368 (all sin is spiritual, but π. is corporeal), 3392 (all sin makes the soul dark, but π. damages the body), 3555, 3616, *a* 33, 43, 86 and 94, *b* 5  
 πορνείον 3510  
 πορνεύω 308, 366, 1489, 2244, 2758, 2848, 3374, 3384, 3781, 3785, 3794, 3867  
 πόρνη 299, 303, 326, 1508, 2222, 2377, 3482, 3793, *e* 85, *f* 15  
 πορνικός 298 (π. καταγωγή), 2493  
 πορνοκαπηλείον (v.l. -καπήλιον) brothel 3478*f.*, 3509*f.*; cf. Du Cange s.v. πορνοκαπήλιον  
 \*πορνοκάπηλος whoremonger 2369, 3478 (rather than brothel keeper; one would expect πορνοκόπος)  
 πόρνος 1542, 2084, 2296, 2356, 2365, 2836*f.*, 3780  
 πόρτα: τῇ π. the city gate 1908; τῇ λιθίνῃ π., unknown gate in or near the portico of Maurianos 3462*f.*  
 πορφύρα: see βύσσος  
 πορφυροῦς 587, 663, 965 (cf. ἴον)  
 ποσότης sum of money 1958, 2063  
 ποταμός, in paradise 550, 553, 580; *d* 38 (see οὐρανός); 3148  
 ποτήριον 1124 (πλήσον τὸ π. νοητῆς θυμηδίας), 2729 (π. δριμύ), 2732, 3246 (explanation of Ps. 74:9), *a* 181  
 πρᾶγμα *passim*; τὰ πρ. the political power, the political situation 4050  
 πραιτώριον jail *a* 54  
 πρακτέος: see πράττω  
 πρᾶος, πρᾶύς 682, 809, 1984, 1990, 2160, 2908  
 πραότης 896, 1632, 2659 (Ps. 131:1), 3310, 3360, 4362, *e* 53 (E), *e* 60, *e* 107 (E); μετὰ πρ. 229, 1948  
 πράτρια, fem. of πρᾶτῃρ seller: 1919, the so-called πρᾶτριαι 1935; quoted by Du Cange s.v. παστρικός in the form πάτριαι (so also PG); noted without ref. in TGL  
 πράττω: τὸ πρακτέον αὐτῷ = τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένον 2877*f.*  
 πράυς: see πρᾶος  
 πρεσβεία intercession 1492, 3665, 3726, 3731  
 πρεσβεύω intercede 2663, 2670  
 πρεσβύτης 1711, 1720, 1746, 1748, 1772, 1777  
 πρησμός 3838  
 πρηστήρ (pl.) fig., 1066, 1439  
 πριμικήριος (v.l. for μεγιστάνος) 1860



- πρισμός: πρ. τοῦ θανάτου agonizing death 2849; v.l. for ἐμπρησμός 3838  
 πρίω, pass., feel the torments of envy 752, 897  
 προαινίσσομαι 3099  
 προαίρεομαι = θέλω 2256, 3971  
 προαίρεσις: κατὰ πρ. spontaneously 341; ἐκ πρ. = ἐκὼν 2262; ἀπὸ πρ., opp.  
 κατὰ τυραννίδα 2606; 96, 390, 2616, 2697, *a* 45 and 93  
 προάναρχος, of God 3305  
 προάστειον suburban estate 1444; cf. 1861f.  
 προαύλιον 1168  
 προβλεπτικὸν ὄμμα 383, *c* 27  
 πρόβλησις suggestion? 1022  
 προγινώσκω 1051  
 πρόγνωσις 371, 1033, 1597, 1791, 1819, 2880, *d* 348 (E)  
 προγνώστης 3088  
 Πρόδρομος 3106, 3107, 3432, 3739; see also Ἰωάννης  
 προέρχομαι 2280, 2872  
 προθυμοποιέω 4194  
 πρόθυρον, mostly pl.: of the entrance of the third heaven 639; the entrance  
 of a church (including atrium or narthex?) 1289, 1294, 1300, 1598 (cf.  
 3651–4); sing., of the entrance of a tavern 410f.  
 προκαθαίρω 3157  
 προκαταλαμβάνω 1156  
 πρόκειμαι: ἡ προκειμένη ὥρα the present time 2295  
 προνοέω: τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν σοι πρ. 163  
 προνοητὴς τῆς σωτηρίας μου, of God 983f., 1208  
 προξενητὴς τῆς πορνείας 2369  
 προπάτωρ, of the Psalmist *a* 167  
 προπύλαια τά: the devil holds the πρ. of your soul 2071f.; of the heavenly  
 kingdom *e* 80  
 πρόρρησις 1374, 1918, 2388, *c* 1 and 36  
 πρὸς: ψηλαφῶν τοῖχον πρ. τοῖχον groping his way along the walls 1908;  
 μικρὸν πρὸς μικρόν 699; see also s.v. χεῖρ and ὀργή  
 προσαγωγή offering 391, 2629, 3709  
 προσεδρεύω frequent 3478f.; stay, wait 3651  
 \*προσέπομαι: τῇ κλίνῃ προσείποντο escort (?) 1512  
 προσευχή *passim*; πρ. τῆς ἐνάτης 936; πρ. ἀδιάλειπτος 1636  
 προσεύχομαι *passim*; διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς πρ. 1595f.; περιήει κύκλῳ τοῦ  
 ναοῦ προσευχόμενος 3721  
 προσκλύζομαι 551  
 προσκομιδή (v.l. for λειτουργία) 4266  
 προσκυνέω 615, 642, 643, 658, 676, 990, 1744, 2022, 2996, 3526

προσμονάριος keeper (of the church of St Anastasia) 111, 127

\*προσπέλω = πέλω, εἰμί 2354

προσπλέκω embrace 227

προσποίησις, of Andrew 96

προσποιητικός: πρ. παράνοιαν simulated, of Andrew 1403 (v.l. προσποιητήν)

προστασία, of the Theotokos 1474

προστάτης τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων, of St Akakios 3656f.

πρόσωπον *passim*; Andrew's πρ. ὡς ἥλιος ἐξαστράπτων 1601; σημειωθήτω ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ πρ. σου, κύριε 1806f.; ἐν δὲ τὸ πρ. τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος 3043f.; ἴδω σου τὸ γλυκύτατον πρ. κἂν ἐν ὀράσει, to St Akakios 3679f.; τὸ θεοειδὲς πρ., of the Theotokos 3745; εὐνοῦχοι, ὥραϊα τὰ πρ. ἔχοντες ὡς ῥόδον 4234; μειδιῶν τῷ πρ. 61, 2116f., 4136, 4372

προτρεπτικός: λόγος πρ. 4134

προφασίζομαι: μῶρὸν ἑαυτὸν προφασισάμενος 3573f.

προφητεύω 385, 3096

προφήτης 1434, 2667, 3174, 4072, *e* 73; of the Psalmist 3100, 3164, 3274, *d* 131

προφητικός *c* 3

προφθέγγομαι predict 262

προχθές: τῇ πρ. 3512

πρωτεῖα first prize (right, share; cf. πρωτόλεια) 1983, 1997, 2022, 2100

πρωτόκλητος, of the Apostle Andrew 3673

πρωτόλεια first spoils, fig. (cf. πρωτεῖα) 1978, 1981, 1997, 2022, 2072, 2100

πρωτόπλαστος, of Adam 2959

πρῶτος, πρώτη first, foremost, oldest 334, 375, *a* 50 and 144

πρωτοσπαθάριος 10

περνίζω spur with the heels 3768

\*πετρώδης (?), v.l. for πετρώδης 857

πτωχεῖα 711

πτωχός 347, 754, 757, 2006, 2079, 2158 (τῷ πνεύματι), 2258, 4340

Πύθιος 4197, 4199; see also Ἀπόλλων

πύλη: αἱ π. of a church 1001, 1291, 1302, 1312, 1315, 3651 (see also βασιλικός); τῆς μεγάλης π. τοῦ Σινάτου 1921; ὡς περ π. ἀνεγώσῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 3587; the gate of Rome 3929; the gates of Alexander 4052

πυλῶν 1003, 1025, 1027, 1033, 2530, *c* 25

πῦρ: οὐχ ὡς τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο (669) but as an instrument or a symbol of heaven or celestial powers 616 (of a cross in heaven; cf. 1804), 632, 641, 1314 (emanating from Andrew), 1675 (from the sanctuary), 1854 (coming

down from heaven; see also σφαῖρα). As an instrument of punishment or a symbol of diabolic powers, often = γέεννα 743 (of temptations; also 2131), 905 (γεέννη τοῦ π.; also 1066), 1521 (in the hand of a demon), 2247, 2347, 2799 (τὸ π. τὸ ἐξώτερον), 2853 (seizes the bodiless nature itself), 3545 (ἐν τῷ ἀσβέστῳ π.; also 3879), 3902 (apocalyptic fire), 4232 (μέσον τοῦ αἰωνίου π.). In comparisons and the like 527 (π. ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως), 967 (ref. Andrew's face; cf. 1067), 1600 (ref. Andrew), 2921 (ref. the Holy Ghost), 3565f. (ὡς στῦλον πυρὸς ἐξαστράπτοντα καὶ ὡς βολίδας πυρὸς εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἐπαφιέντα, ref. Andrew), 3775 (ref. an angel), 4388 (see στῦλος). Other cases: 852 (see ὑπόστασις), 2458, 2534, 2618, 3010 (among the infernal elements created by God), 3162, 3168 (of the essence of lightning), 3189–73 (the lightning is a reflection of the eternal fire, which is above the firmament), 3808f. (see ἥλιος), 3837, 3977, *d* 29f. (the sun is π. ἔνυλον καὶ κύκλος πυρός)

\*πυρακτής *v.l.* for πυρράκης 573

πυραυγής 663

\*πυρεύριζος, of a cross in heaven 616 (also written πυρσύριζον); cf. *VBaslun*, fol. 323, ed. Veselovskij, 151,13 χρυσέοις πλαξὶ μεγίστοις καὶ πυρευρίζοις; *ibidem*, fol. 324<sup>v</sup>, ed. Veselovskij, 152,21 χρυσίον καθαρὸν πυρεύριζον; *ibidem*, fol. 162<sup>v</sup>, ed. Veselovskij, 16 χρυσίου εὐρίζου καθαρωτάτου; see also *VNiph*, ed. Rystencko, 93,14 and 97,21; -εὐρίζος probably from εὐρυζος = ὀβρυζος pure (of gold), as suggested to me by J. Koder; in Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, 648,33 spelt εὐροιζος

πυρίκανστος 1523, 1548, 3874, 3888–901

πυρίμορφος 1558, *d* 235

πύρινος (πῦρ), mostly of angels 207 (εἰδός τι τῇ θεωρίᾳ π.), 650, 652, 1343, 1372, 3774, 4119, *d* 101, *d* 316 (E); of the Holy Ghost 3144; of the teaching of the Apostles 1802; of the air of heaven 629; cf. ῥάβδος π.

πυροβόλος ἀγάπη *d* 219

πυροειδής 1818

πυροφегγής 680

πυρράκης 573 (*vv.* ll. πυρρακῆς, πυρακτής), 610 (*n. pl.* πυρρακῆ), 969 (*item*), 974 (*fem. pl.* πυρρακῆς), 2562 (*vv.* ll. πυρακεῖς, πύρακες)

πυρρακίζω be red 610, 3694; cf. *VBaslun*, fol. 208, ed. Veselovskij, 55 τὰ μὲν πυρακίζοντα (*sic*), τὰ δὲ χιονοφегγῇ, and elsewhere; *VNiph*, ed. Rystencko, 69,22 of the colours of the clouds τὰ μὲν εἰσὶν μαυρώδη, τὰ δὲ πυρακίζοντα καὶ λευκὰ ...

πυρρός, of demons 2559, 2589



πυρσανγής 612, 845

πυρφόρος 1372, 2940

πύρωσις τῆς σαρκός 2563, 2721, 2765, 2871; cf. *VSymSal*, ed. Rydén, 123,12

πώγων beard 2816; chin 3688

ῥάβδος πύρινος or πυρίνη 1589, 2249, 3776, *a* 110, *d* 316 (E)

ῥαθυμία 1667, 1673

ῥάθυμος 3771*f*.

\*ῥακίσκος 1005

ῥαπίζω 305, 348, 1221, 1413, 1939, 2145; cf. κοσσίζω

ῥάπισμα 1409, 1890, *b* 4

ῥάσος: κιλίκιον, ἢ τρίχινον ἢ ῥ. without hair 277; cf. *VloEl*, ed. Festugière, XIX, 11 γοναχίω σχισμένῳ καὶ ῥάσῳ (threadbare)

Ῥαφαήλ, 1. the archangel R. 2994; 2. an adulterous deacon, friend of Epi-phanios 2782, 2783

\*ῥένδαξ(?): ὁν τρόπον ῥενδάκων Αἰθιοπῶν *a* 115*f*.

ῥήτωρ: σοφωτέρους ῥητόρων 3446

Ῥίζα, a town, situation not specified 3880

ρόγα: ἔφθασεν ἡ ῥ. σου ἵνα λάβῃς καθὰ ἔπραξας 3766*f*.

\*ῥοδινόπυρος flaming with the colour of roses, of Andrew's face (v.l. for ὡς ἥλιος ἐξαστράπτων) 1601

ῥόδον: ὡς (τὸ) ῥ., of the face of eunuchs 1035, 4234; for other instances, see κρίνον and ἴον

ῥοδόσταγμα: μύρου θεϊκοῦ ... ὡς ῥ. 4237

\*ῥοητικός: δακρύων ῥ. 4362, *e* 61, *e* 108 (E)

Ῥοῦσοι 3821*f*.; see also Ῥῶς

ρύμη 1218, 1495, 1831, 2029, 2682, 3964

ρύμις 2029 (ρύμη and ρυμίδι, v.v. ll. for τόπω)

ῥυπαρός: τὰ λεγόμενα ῥ. ἔθνη 4054

ῥυπάω: ῥερυπωμένος 1449

Ῥωμαῖος 3089, 3262, 3836, 3839, 3880, 3913–20, 3948

Ῥωμαῖστί in Greek 18

Ῥώμη 3098, 3812 (αὕτη ἡ νέα Ῥ.), 3880, 3929, 3930, 4049

Ῥῶς: τοὺς Ῥ., ἡγουν τοὺς Ῥούσους 3821*f*.

σάβανον 1886, 1904 (cf. ὁθόνη)

Σαβαώθ 1560, 3593, 4311, 4343, *e* 45, *e* 86 (E)

σάββατον 3091, 3092 (interpretation of Matt. 24:20)

\*σαγιόμαλον: σαγιόμαλα, v.l. for σκεπάσματα *a* 42 (error for αἰγείομα-λα?)

σαγίον cloak worn by a patrikios 339 (v.l. σαγήν); κόμμα μικρόν τι σαγίου  
277

σάγισμα saddle-cloth 338

σάγιστρον = σάγισμα 338

σαλίζω, *f.l.* for σιελίζω 2817

σαλός, the low-style technical term for a holy fool, etymology unknown  
86, 93, 122, 248, 262, 267, 287, 288, 307, 313, 324, 338, 355, 377, 405,  
457, 705, 712, 862, 1053, 1924, 1939, 2678, 4262 (*bis*), *e* 5 and 36 (E),  
*e* 115

Σαμαήλ 2994, 2995

Σαμαλαήλ 2995

Σαούλ *d* 48 and 58

σάσσω dance 1921, 2585, 2675, 2707, 2709; cf. *VSymSal*, ed. Rydén, In-  
dex s.v.

σατᾶν, σατάν 1379, 1390 (διάβολος καὶ σ.), 3617, 3659 (σ. διάβολος),  
4079 (σ. ὁ ἀντίχριστος)

σατανᾶς 40, 49, 157, 261, 398, 752, 815, 875, 1063, 1072, 1800, 2631,  
2996, 3224, 3491, 3617, 3628, 3766, 3888–901, *a* 133

σατανικός 3482, 3968

σαχνός 73 (λάχανον)

σέβομαι, w. dat. (*si vera lectio*) 3905

σεισμός 3888–901

\*σέλη τά 41 (see note), 1437

σεληνιαζω: ὥσπερ σεληνιαζόμενος ... οἷα πράττουσιν οἱ μαινόμενοι 99f.;  
ἐσεληνιάζεν, *f.l.* for ἐσιέλινεν 2817

σεμνολόγημα impressive phrase 833

σεμνύνομαι 1980, 2389

σεραφίμ 1742, 1823, 2048, 2991, 3693, *d* 275, *e* 68

Σήθ *d* 95, *d* 309 (E)

σημεῖον 2954 (stade, cf. 3951; cf. also ἐπτά, σταδιοδρομέω), 3218, 3258  
(σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα), 3309, 3951, 4112 (τὸ σ. τῆς σφραγίδος τοῦ Χρισ-  
τοῦ); τὸ σ. τοῦ σταυροῦ 1302, 1318f., 1595, 1617

σημειόμαι: the demons marked those beating Andrew as their property  
3575, 3582

σημεῖωμα mark, seal (of demons) 3581

\*σηπώδης rotten 319; also *VBaslun*, fol. 176<sup>v</sup>, ed. Veselovskij, 28,5 σηπώ-  
δεις, ἀφρώδεις καὶ αἵματώδεις

σιαίνω 189, 205, 2713

σίγμα 4282, cf. ἰῶτα

σίδηρος: a man practising asceticism is like iron in the fire 2919–24

σιελίζω 2817

σίελον 289

Σινάτον, the Senate House at the *Foros* 1919, 1921

σίφων 3148; τὸν σ. τῆς ἀστραπῆς 3213

σιχαντός = σικχαντός *a* 69*f*.; cf. συγχαντός, συχαντός

Σιών 4116

σκάμμα, pl. trials 1110

σκαμνίον bench or stool in church 1650 (gen. pl. σκαμνίων; v.l. σκάμνων)

σκεῦος: the best fruit for sale is displayed ἐπὶ ὑελίνων σκ. 1348, 1358; τὸ σκ. τῆς ἐκλογῆς 1633; σκ. χρυσοῦν 3692, 3693 (cf. εἰκὼν, εἶδος); holy vessel 3974, 4064; the Lord will form a σκ. αἰσχρὸν καὶ ῥυπαρόν for Antichrist 4070–4

σκηνή, of the celestial abodes of the blessed 2799, *e* 138

σκήνος body 592, 2967

σκήπτρον 654, 1769; the sceptre of an apocalyptic ruler 3842, 3859, 3879, 3907, 3913 (*bis*)

\*σκνιπεύομαι be stingy 2061

σκνιπία (v.l. for κνιπία) 1966

σκνιφός (v.l. for κνιφός) 351

σκοπός 777, 938, 1082, 1871, 2004, 2430 (ἀναβαίνει σκ. τις ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῆς), 2815

σκορπίος, in Hades 2361 (the Lord regards the murderers ὡς τοὺς σκ.), *a* 145

σκοτεινόμορφος 2049 (contrasting ἀστραπόμορφος)

σκοτεινός 1380, 1972 (γράμματα), 3587 (of demons), 4302 (ἀήρ, beneath the abyss)

\*σκοτιάζω grow dark 1876

σκοτίζω 782, 1974, 2756, 2928, 4060, *d* 92

σκοτομήνη τῆς ματαιότητος 1671

σκότος: σκ. τοῦ κόσμου τούτου 548, *d* 276, *d* 377 (E); of Hades 2248 (τὸ σκ. τὸ ἐξώτερον), 2327; among the infernal elements created by God 3010; the demons are σκ. 3294; the eternal darkness 3500; 2415, 2846, 3404, *f* 21 and 25

σκοτώδης 2340; see πίναξ

Σκύθης: Andrew was of Scythian origin 15; nobody would guess that he was a Scythian 20*f*.

σκοληκόβρωτος: in fig. sense 2215 (cf. γυνή), 3802

Σόδομα 1097, 2245, 3782, 3835, *d* 168

Σοδομίτης 1057, 2356, 3779

Σοδομιτικός 2245

Σολομών 2971, 3304, 4135, *f* 1 and 4



σορός, of the Theotokos' shrine at Blachernae 3732; of the coffin of St Babylas at Daphne, Antioch 4206

σοφία 810, 811, 820, 834, 856, 896, 1575 (God is ἐφευρετής τῆς σ.), 1786, 2007 (God is ὁρος σοφίας), 3250, 3304 (ἡ σ. Σολομώντος, of Prov.), 3306–17, 3456, 4361 (cf. πνεῦμα), 4394 (God's wisdom), *e* 59, *e* 106 (Ε), *f* 5 (of Solomon)

Σοφία, (the church of) the Holy Wisdom 2530, 2648, 2652, 2660, 3980, 4038f.

σοφίζω 2255; τὸ τοῖς νηπίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος σοφισθέν 3452

σοφιστής 857, *d* 176; cf. φιλόσοφος

σοφός 2907 (of the soul's essence), 3446 (cf. ῥήτωρ), *e* 21

σοφός ὁ: ὡς φησί τις τῶν σ., unidentified 2309; τινὲς τῶν σ. 2661; comb. w. γραμματεῖς 3450; ὁ σ., unidentified 4282

σπάω, pass.: σπασθεῖς τῷ φόβῳ 39; ἐσπῶντο τῷ γελοίῳ 1507; σπασθεῖς ἔξυπνος ἐγένετο awe-struck 3696

σπένδω: θυσίαις αὐτοῦς (i.e. the gods of the Hellenes) σπένδοντες 3414f.

σπόνδυλος: he buried them ἐν τοῖς σπ. τῶν ἀλόγων 1547

σταδιάρχης 1850

σταδιοδρομέω: ἐπὶ ταῖς σημείοις σταδιοδρομοῦμενον, of the spirit of the aeons 2954f.

στάδιον: 713 (τὸ στ. τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος); 3951 (στ. δώδεκα)

στάκτη ashes 1506 (vv. ll. στακτή, σπο(ν)δός)

στάσις: πάννυχος στ. 2922, *d* 212; τάξις καὶ στ. *a* 124

σταυρίον 2653

Σταυρίον 1951, 1952

σταυροειδῶς 76, 79 (cf. συμπλέκω), 403 (ἐμφυσάω; also 786), 973, 1821, 2570

σταυρός, in the air 144, 1804, 1809, 1814; in heaven 608, 614, 627, 628, 639, 703, 1768, 1770; the Holy Cross 3890 (see φούρκα), 3141, 3155 (τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ τιμίου στ.); sign of the cross 3509, 3526 (see also σημεῖον, τύπος); a cross of flowers on a celestial dove's head 3601; at CP 3813, 3975

σταυρώω 613, 2066

σταύρωσις 704 (ἡ στ. τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν)

στέμμα βασιλικόν 1768, 2881

στερέωμα: the first firmament 604; the second firmament 626; the third heaven was not like a solid firmament 638; the stars in the firmament 1797; eternal fire is above the firmament 3169f.; a white pneuma emanates from the firmament 3229; 3588 (v.l. for οὐρανοῦ); 'I shall bring down the firmament' 3985; the air above the firmament is infinite 4294f.

στέφανος: crowns for those who smite the Ethiopians 51–5, 84; Andrew wears a crown during his visit to heaven 516; you will receive as many crowns as the temptations you resist 2765–7; and elsewhere

στεφανώ 557, 1799

στήλη *e* 3

στημονίζω 3235–41

στίλβω 518, 1447, 1539, 3590

στοιχεῖον: of the sun 847; element 2987, 3228, 3229; star 4063; planet 3808*f*. (see θέσις); letter 3821*f*., 4276

στοχάζομαι see, look at 537, 541, 665, 688; guess, find 119, 522, 2226, 2266, 2823

στοχασμός 2895

στραγγαλιά: στρ. βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων *a* 40

στράτα: δημοσία στρ. 3463, 3888–901

στράτευμα, pl., of the heavenly hosts 688, 1741, 1755, 3068, *d* 241

στρατεύω 3932, 3935

στρατηγία, pl. of the heavenly hosts 2981, 3007

στρατηλάτης ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέρεσιν 11*f*.

στρατιά heavenly host 646, 1824; the host of Satan 3001

στρατιώτης 2748, 3666 (στρ. τοῦ Ἰησοῦ)

στρατοπεδεύω arm, mobilize 3927, 3939

στριγγίζω 2817 (*v.l.* for φωνάζειν)

Στρόβιλος, town, situation not indicated 3881

στρουθίον sparrow, small bird 533, 536, 539, 540, 552, 569, 1708; symbolizing Andrew's soul 1752; Christ made birds of clay 3179; of Euphrosyne 2931, *d* 354 (*E*)

Στρυμών, the river Strymon 3897

στυλος, the pillar of Daniel the Stylite 1846; the column in the Foros 4042;

στ. πυρός, of Andrew 3565*f*., 4388, *e* 114

συγκαθίζω, intr., sit down together 378, 380

συγκακούργος 3203

συγκατάβασις 673

συγκιρνάω 3654 (but συγκεράννυμι 3950)

συγκληρονόμος 216

συγκυλινδέομαι 2379

συγχαντός 3376, 3377, 3392; cf. σιχαντός, συχαντός

σύζυγος husband 2453 (the usual word for wife being σύμβιος)

σύκον 1347, 1349, 1353, 1368

Σύλαιον, town, situation not indicated, perhaps Sillyon in Pamphylia 3941, 3942 (with pun on συλλαμβάνω or συλάω and αἰών), 4049

Συμεών, 1. Symeon Salos 224, *e* 8; 2. a man 1409

συμμεριστής: τῷ μιᾶρῳ σ., of the devil 954

συμμύστης 2548

συμπαθής: voc. συμπαθῇ 4354, e 98 (E)

συμπαρεδρεύω 861

συμπένης 348, 445, 482

συμπεριφέρω: ὁ συμπεριφερόμενος αὐτῷ δαίμων 264, 365, 1274; also *VBaslun*, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>, ed. Vilinskij, 297,24

συμπίπτω: aor. part. pass. συμπτωθέντας 3910

συμπλέκω: συμπλακῆναι σταυροειδῶς grapple 'crosswise' 76, 79

συμπλήρωσις 4008 (ἐν τῇ σ. τῶν ἐθνῶν; cf. τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν line 4012), c 28, d 10 (τοῦ κόσμου)

συμποδίζω catch in a trap 881, 1800; med., stumble 1284; pass., be fettered 2824

συμποντίζω, pass., to sink into the sea together with 4038

συμπράκτωρ 263

συμπροσεύχομαι 4192

σύμπτωμα πόλεων μεγάλων 3888–901

συμφθάνω come (of time) 4265

συμφύρομαι mix with 1229; συμπεφυρμένος as v.l. for κεκαρωμένος 1262; cf. ἐμφύρω

σὺν τῷ λόγῳ: see λόγος

συναίρω: σ. λόγον or λόγους take up a discussion 811, 818, 884 (here also v.l. συνείρ-)

συνανάτροφος = σύντροφος 1037, 3203

συναναφέρομαι = συναναστρέφομαι 1489

σύναξις (divine) service 1664, 2743, 4267, a 57 and 142

συνδαίμων 2641

σύνδρακς 2385, 2785

\*συνδιακελεύομαι 824 (exact meaning unclear)

συνδίδωμι yield, accept 302 (aor. part. συνδώσας)

συνήθης: τὰ σ. ἐργάζεσθαι or πράττειν, of Andrew 419f., 740; πρὸς σὺνηθες 1148; κατὰ τὸ σ. 3459; ὡς σὺνηθες ἔχων a 3; τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὰ σ. ἐποιεῖτο 793

σύνθεσις 1186 (see ζῶδον); τὴν τῶν σύκων σ., of figs in a glass jar 1353; the σ. of man illustrating the relation between Father, Son and Holy Ghost 3018

συνμειδιάω 329

συντέλεια end of the world 3196, 3225, 3811, 3818, 3823, 4003, d 141, d 306 (E)

συντελέω: οἱ ἐπὶ αἰῶνες τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ... οὐ συνετελέσθησαν 2962f.; ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν συντελεσθήσεται 4000



- συντρίβω: συντετριμμένος 985 (καρδία)  
 σύντρομος frightened 2488  
 συντυγχάνω speak with 3637  
 συρίζω 1702  
 Συριστί 1107  
 Σύρος: τὴν τῶν Σ. διάλεκτον 1106, τῇ Σ. διαλέκτῳ 1196  
 συστοιχέω cooperate (?) 827, 3021  
 συχαντός = σικχαντός 3376, 3377, 3391; cf. σιχαντός, συγχαντός  
 συχασία = σικχασία 4054  
 συχνάζω, w. dat. (in v.l. for ἐσχόλαζε) 3729  
 συχνῶς 1848, 3729, 4330, *d* 218 (v.l. for συνεχῶς), *e* 11; συχνοτέρως 3716  
 \*σφαγμός v.l. for σφαγαί 3964; cf. Lampros, "Ενθυμήσεις," no. 498 (of the year 1798) Τί θρήνος, τί σφαιμός, τί πνημὸς θαλάσσης (I owe this ref. to E. Trapp)  
 σφαῖρα πυρός 1738  
 σφενδών = σφενδόνη (so probably 3665) 3365, 3665  
 σφραγίζω (with the sign of the cross) 1302, 1619  
 σφραγὶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ sign of the cross 3530f., 4112  
 σχέσις affection 3724, 3730  
 σχῆμα, guise of demons or of the devil 779 (γραιδος), 787 (ἀνθρώπινον σχ.), 791 (ὄφεως), 803 (Ἰσμαηλίτου ἐμποροῦ), 876 (Ἀγαρηνοῦ); garment of monks or priests (see also μοναχικός) 1616, 2953; σχήματα ποιεῖν 1128 (in imitation of Andrew; also 1205), 2208 (of a prostitute), 3568 (of Andrew)  
 σχηματίζω, refl. 3034 (of God showing himself in disguise); med., pretend 419 (of Andrew as a σαλός), 1008; w. inf. 1191  
 σχολάζω, w. dat., devote oneself to 1455 and elsewhere; ἡ σελήνη καὶ πάντα τὰ στοιχεῖα σχολάσουσι will stop shining 4063  
 σῶμα *passim*; nobody has visited heaven ἐν σ. except Andrew and St Paul 708–10; unless the body is resurrected, the soul cannot enjoy the heavenly rewards 3299f.  
 σωρεύω: ἐσώρευσας (vv. ll. ἐσωρίασας, ἐσώρησας or -ισας) 2055  
 σωρέω: see σωρεύω  
 σωριάζω: see σωρεύω  
 \*σωρίζω (?): see σωρεύω  
 σωρός, fem. for masc. 3977  
  
 ταγὴ fodder 2702  
 τάγμα, of the heavenly hosts 1741, 2990, 3006 (τὸ δωδέκατον τ. τῶν ἀγγέλων), 3075, *d* 126  
 ταξιάρχης τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων *d* 249

- τάξις 653, 1760 (κατὰ τ. τῶν ἀγίων), 2064 (ἡ τ. τῶν μοναχῶν), 3001 (τάξεις μεγάλας ὁ θεὸς ὑπεστήσατο), 3808f., *a* 124 (cf. στάσις), *d* 36; εἰς τάξιν w. gen. 23, 92, *c* 24
- ταπεινοφρόνως 813
- ταυτότης, of bread as image of Trinity (cf. ὑπόστασις) 852
- τάχος: ὥσει ἀστραπῆς τ., ὥσει (ὥς) τ. ἀστραπῆς 1589, 3902, 4306; cf. εἰδος
- τε *passim*; varies with δέ 1891, 2693, 3563; abundant, comb. w. part. 1964 (cf. καί); ἔφη τε at beginning of sentence 1749
- τεάφη sulphur 1581, 1592, 2861; also AnonByz, *DeCaellInfEp*, ed. Radermacher, 17, 14, *ApocAnastasiae*, ed. Homburg, 9, 9
- [\*]τέαφος sulphur 1521, 1581, 1592 (τῇ τεάφῳ), 2861
- τελείωσις death *d* 348 (E)
- τελετής, of God 1574
- τελευταίω: πεινῶσι ... τελευτῶντες 2062
- τελώνης 3395
- τέμενος, of St Akakios 3730
- τένας = τένων: gen. τέναντος 965, acc. τέναντα 1940
- τέρας, of a vision *e* 112 and 143
- τεράστιον 512, 922, 999, 3615
- \*τερποφορέω, prob. wrong for -φωνέω
- \*τερποφωνέω 535
- τεσσαράκοντα: the mourning for CP will last forty days 4048
- τεσσαρακοστή Lent 927, 930, 1919, 2649, *a* 23 (cf. δρόμος)
- τέσσαρες 609, 2171, 2463, 2547, 2598 (v.l. τέσσαρεις), 3702, 4233, 4238, *d* 126
- τέταρτος: τ. ὥρα 3736
- τετραμνηαῖος (v.l. -μηνιαῖος, τετράμηνος) 219
- τετραπέρατος: ἡ τ. the (whole) world 1801, 3132–6; the four quarters of the world *d* 127
- τετράς: τῇ τετράδι (v.l. τῇ -α) on Wednesday 2458, 2459
- τέττιξ, in paradise 533
- \*τεφρώνω = τεφρώω 3223
- τηγανίζω, *pass.*, of a sinner being consumed by fever 3771
- τηλαυγής 652, 663
- τίνω: aor. part. τίνας (or τείνας), for τείσας 1388
- τίτλος boundary-stone (?) 2556
- Τίτος, the Emperor Titus 3098
- τιτρώσκω, in fig. sense 1247, 1439
- τοῖχος 1566, 1908 (cf. πρόσ); τοῖχε, scornful address to icon 3537
- τομή: τῇ τοῦ θανάτου προσεγγίζων τ. 3496

τόμος χάρτου 1729

\*τονώτατα (?) v.l. for εὐτονώτατα *d* 37

τόξον 3112–15 (in interpretation of Gen. 9:13); as sign of the Almighty's wrath 3989

τόπος *passim*; εἰς ἐνὸς τόπον τῶν ἀγαπώντων σε ἔχεις με rank me among those who love you 982

\*τουβός tube-shaped wick-holder 2535; cf. αὐτρότουβον

τραγωδέω sing (worldly songs) 1263, 2375, 2758, 3854

τραγωδία (worldly) song 3469 (cf. καταλέγω), 3968 (τρ. σατανικαί)

τρανός: τοῦ τρανοτέρου the most prominent 374

τράπεζα altar 3402, 3981 (the altar of St Sophia)

τρεῖς: three crowns 51; three crosses 639; three times three words from God 683–6; three ounces of salt 2724f.; three hypostases 3028; three days and nights 3786; three and a half years 3861; three shameless youths 3921; angels burn incense in three ways 4187f.; 372, 397f. (cf. διά), 415, 3196, 4201 (Babylas and the three νήπιοι), *c* 27 (ψήφος τριῶν ἡμερῶν), 31 and 35, *d* 200 and 254

τρέχω: τρέχε οὖν τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα γυμνός 85f., τρ. τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς εὐσεβείας 2420; δράμε μετὰ κόπου 283; τρ. καὶ παλαίειν 48; τρέχων ... παίζων 223, ἔτρεχε παίζων 337; τρ. ... σάσσειν 1920f., σάσσειν καὶ τρ. 2707; fools ἀναισθητοῦντες τρέχουσι 1047; see also δρόμος

τριάκοντα 344, 1039, 3843 (the first apocalyptic emperor will rule for thirty-two years)

τριάκοσιοι 1549

τριάς 989 (ὁ ἐν τρ. ὑμνούμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος), 1579, 1767 (ὁ μύστης τῆς τρ., of Andrew), 3030, 4101, 4339, *e* 1

τρίβолос 707, *a* 129

τριετία *b* 8

\*τρίλογος = τριπλοῦς 319; cf. μονόλογος

τριμίσιον (various spellings) 2465

τρίρρυμος: 'Ρώμη τρίρρυμε (τρίρυμε codd.) 3930; hapax in the sense 'of three streets'

τρισσεύω 686, 768

τρισυπόστατος 846, 854, 3076–82

τρίτος, τρίτον: ἐκ τρίτου 403; the third heaven 636; ὥρα 1784; μετὰ τρ. ἡμέραν 1944f., *d* 187f.; what did God create in the third phase? 3009; the third apocalyptic youth 3939; 4193

τρίτῳ = τρισσῶ, τρισσεύω 2886, 2889

τρομάζω 1159

τρομάττω 1159

τρόμος 485, 619, 633 etc.; often comb. w. φόβος, *q.v.*



τροπεύομαι make up, pretend 3573f.

τροπόω, med., speak metaphorically 1157, 3417

τροχός fence 1907

\*τρυμαλιάς (?) for τρυμαλιά 2678, 2679, 2680

\*τρυμαλίζ for τρυμαλιά 2678; same form *PassArethae*, ed. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca* V, 48 (I owe this ref. to E. Trapp)

τύπος: τὸν τ. τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ e 66

τυραννίς: κατὰ τυραννίδα 2605 (opp. κατὰ προαίρεσιν)

τύφλωσις 1909, 1914, 2695

ὕβριζω 1092, 1458, 2684

\*ὕδατόρραντος 3121

ὕδατόρρυτος 3121, 3125f.

ὕδατόστατος mixed with standing water 402

ὕδωρ, among the infernal elements created by God 3010; οὐκ ἦν ἐστώς, ἀλλὰ γε κλυζόμενον καὶ κινούμενον 3011; the φύσις of water, when frozen, has two names 3048; heaven is covered by waters 3056; where does the rain-water come from? 3110; in explanation of rain and thunder 3113–27; in explanation of the lightning 3149ff.; sea-water sweetened by an angel 3154f.; in explanation of snow and ice 3228–40; the waters that carry CP 3993; CP drowned in the waters at the end of time 3998; water is below the earth, chasm below the water 4300; beyond heaven and earth, in the east, there are πολλὰ ὕ. φωτεινά, λευκὰ καὶ ἀπόρρητα 4316

ὑετός: Elijah prays to God for rain 3185f.

υἱός *passim*; ὁ υἱ. τῆς ἀνομίας 3860; υἱ. πατρὶ δίκαια λέγων θανάτω τελευτάτω etc. 1020f.

ὕλακτέω: ὁ εἰς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν = behave like a lewd dog 2884

ὕλη νεκρά, of idols 3419

ὕλικός: angels do not use ὑλικοῖς 4170

ὕμνέω 989; cf. τριάς

ὕμνος 1678 (ἑωθινὸς ὕ.), 2650, 3653 (ἑσπερινὸς ὕ.), 4206; cf. δοξολογία ὕμνωδία 3741

ὕπαλείφω 74

ὕπαναγκάζω 2721

ὕπαρχος 4210, 4211, 4216; (v.l. ἔπαρχος in the first two instances)

ὕπεκφαίνω d 197

ὕπεξέρχομαι 274 (τὴν ἡμέραν, spend the day), 413, 2960 (come to the end of, escape), 4317 (τὴν ὁλκὴν τοῦ ὕδατος, come through)

ὕπεράγιος, of the Theotokos 1295, 1468, 1488, 1490, 1597, 2949

ὕπεραγνος, of the Theotokos 1488

ὑπεράπειρος 4288

ὑπεράρρητος *e* 43

ὑπερασπίζω, med. 3214; act. 4333, fut. ὑπερασπιεῖς *e* 62 (E)

ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς μου, of God 953

ὑπερδοξάζω 2645, 4335, *e* 63 (E)

ὑπερευλογέω 4334, *e* 63 (E)

ὑπέρλαμπρος: ἤλεκτρος 649; of the Theotokos 721, of her dwelling 725

\*ὑπεσβαίνω: τύπτοντες ὑπεσέβαινον (v.l. for ἔτυπτον) 349; only as conjecture in LSJ

ὑπνος 42, 279, 503, 727, 1676, 2486, 2497, 2520; καθ' ὑπνους, κατὰ τοὺς ὑ. 43, 2116, 2470, 2722; τῷ ὑ. τῆς ῥαθυμίας 1673

ὑπνόω 728, 1690, 2497, 2757

ὑπό: w. gen. *passim*, w. acc. 3841

\*ὑπογλαίζω 1767; cf. \*ἀπογλαίζω

ὑποκελεύομαι: prob. = ἐπι- 2655

\*ὑποκυνεύομαι fawn upon like a dog (?) 2212

\*ὑποπαιγνιάζω (v.l. for ἐπι-) 2472

\*ὑπορροδίζω: ὑπορροδίζων ἀνθήμασιν shimmering with the colour of roses (?) 519

ὑπόστασις: bread consists of three hypostases, grain, water and fire 851–3; ἡ τῶν αἰώνων ὑ. 2951; soul, reason and word have different hypostases but the same essence 3022–4; of the three persons of the Godhead 3028; Christ has two φύσεις or οὐσίαι, but only one ὑ. 3037, 3043, 3046

ὑποτακτῆτης *d* 216

ὑποφέρω instil 942

ὑποφωνέω: ὑ. τοῖς ψάλλουσιν 2657

ὑποψάλλω 613

ὑποψιθυρίζω, of Andrew's secret prayer 391, 2675; whisper magic formulas 2460; see also ψιθυρισμός

ὑφ' ἑν at once *d* 120

ὑψηλοφροσύνη 2163

ὑποποιός: τὴν ὑ. ταπείνωσιν 3359 (as, e.g., *VBaslun*, fol. 75<sup>v</sup>, ed. Veselovskij, 17, 16)

ὑψος *passim*; εἰς ὑ. ἀπλήρωτον or φοβερόν 3076f., πλήρωμα οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ ὑ. ἐκείνου 3078; the water changes when it falls ἐκ τοῦ ὑ. ἐκείνου 3234; εἰς ὑ. ὅσον τις νοῆσαι οὐ δύναται 4295

φάλαγξ, of demons 136

φανητιάω be vain, boast 420

φαντάζω: φ. τινά, w. inf., make somebody think that he 2723; med., imagine, fancy 297, 2724, 2842, 3338

φαντασία 2537, 4292–4

φάντασμα 1942, 2514

φαντασμός 3204

φαρμακεία 783, *d* 166

φαρμακός 2363, 2511, 2638, 3963, *a* 112

φασκία 1651

φελώνιον chasuble (of a deacon) 2834

φέρομαι: φ. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος 1808

Φῆστος, referring to Acts 26:26, 2836

φθεῖρον = φθεῖρ with play on φθεῖρω ‘destroy’ *a* 175

φθονέω, of demons or the devil 37, 896, 3616

φθόνος 752, 1378 (both of demons), 2157, 4022 (v.l. φόνου)

φιάλη, gen. φιάλεως (cf. μέση and see “Language and Style”) 2552 (cf. μανία), 2933 (the fountain of the church of St Akakios)

φιλανθρωπία 980, 1006, 1988, 2001, 2740, 4398, *e* 27 and 125, *f* 24

φιλόανθρωπος 1280, 1487, 1799, 1833, 2001, 2645, 3599, 3637, *e* 55

φιλαργυρία 1960, 1962, 1972 (φ. is the root of all wickedness), 2052, 2073, *a* 33 and 96

φιλάργυρος 1979, 1986, 2357, 2366 (compared to cats), 2691, *a* 79

φίλημα the holy kiss 438, 919, 1626, *e* 78 (E)

φιλήσυχος 2160

φιλιώω 1377

φιλομόναχος 1638

φιλόπορνος 2309

φιλόπτωχος 1638

φιλόσαρκος 2174

φιλόσοφος philosopher, highbrow 793, 817, 825, 854, *d* 183, 189, 192, 195, 197, 202 and 210; cf. σοφιστής

φιλόχριστος 9 (of Leo I); of charitable people 341, 1225

φίλτρον, of God’s love for man 4355, *e* 99 (E)

\*φιλυπαύχενος presumptuous 2172; for the strengthening function of φιλ-, see Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, II, 222

φλόξ: ἀνυγάζουσαι ὥσεϊ φλ. 663; a flame of fire issued from the throne 669; ἐν φλογὶ γεέννης 1074; εἰς φλόγα τῇ αἰδῷ μετεβάλλοντο 1159; φλ. πυρός (biblical) 1314, 1600, 1675

φοβερόβαφος: ζώνην ... ὡς κόκκινον φ., marvellously red 517; quoted by Du Cange s.v. φοβερός; cf. *VBasIun*, fol. 108, ed. Veselovskij 43, 19 φρικτοβαφής in a description of the heavenly abodes

φοβερός *passim*; θεός 1574, 3629; τὴν τῆς θεότητος φ. οὐσίαν 3081; τὸ φ. ὄνομα Σαβαώθ 4343 etc.; celestial thrones 1736, 2986, 3072, 4179; a plant in paradise 1704; of the Second Coming and the Judgment 2700,



- 2755, 3767; in apocalyptic context 3875, 3899, 3946, 3990, 3995, 3999, 4026, 4088; of Hades and the infernal powers: Gehenna 905, δράκων 1964, πῦρ 2247 etc.; in a fig. sense: ὕψος 3234; μέγας καὶ φ. φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ 4082; ἔκταμα 4298
- φοβερῶς 2854, 3994, 4091, 4292
- φόβος *passim*; fear of God 2127, 2313, 3520, and elsewhere; the apocalyptic king will make men virtuous through fear 3845; Andrew and Eriphanios speak of the Godhead φ. πολλῶ 4285; comb. w. τρόμος 1164, 1892 (τρόμος φοβερὸς καὶ φ. ἀσύγκριτος), 2968 etc.; cf. σπάω
- φοῖνιξ date 1039, 1050 (πάντας οὓς εἶχε φ., v.l. πάσας ἄς), 1054, 1057 (ἐτέρους φ., v.l. ἐτέρας)
- φολερόν 349
- φόλλις 359, 366f.
- φονεύς 2356, 2361, a 121
- φόνος 3867, 4022 (in v.l. for φθόνου) a 125, d 167
- φορά: τῇ δευτέρᾳ φ. at the second stage of creation 3007; τῇ φ. τῶν ὑδάτων the flow of the waters 3056
- φορέω wear 337, 338, 339 (φορῶ), and elsewhere; clothe 3928
- φόρος the Forum of Constantine 1295 (τοῦ φ. Κωνσταντινουπόλεως), 1920 (τῷ τοῦ φ. πλακώματι), 1935 (τῷ πλακώματι τοῦ φ.), 1941 (ἅπαν τὸ τοῦ φ.), 3559 (τῷ δημοσίῳ φ.), 4042 (ὁ ἐν τῷ φ. στῦλος)
- φοῦρκα the Cross will be called a gallows 3890 (v.l. -οῦ-)
- φουσκάριον an establishment in which wine was consumed 235, 243; cf. καθαροπότιον, with which φ. appears to be synonymous in VA; φοῦσκα is not mentioned
- φουσκάριος innkeeper 363, 370, 412; cf. καθαροπότης, for which φ. is a v.l. in all three instances
- φρενήρης deranged 231; cf. Souda s.v.: φρόνιμος ἢ παράφρων
- φρίκη 417, 559, 577, 678, 1159, 1779, 1930, 2404, 2850 (of the torments in Hades), 3873, 3997
- φρικτός, mostly of the celestial world and its powers 544 (κάλλη), 628, 686, 715, 1764, 2835, 3235, 3298 (ἐξανάστασις), 3514 (κοινωνία), 4288 (the πνεῦμα of the Godhead); otherwise 1395 (θέαμα, of an exorcistic scene)
- φρικώδης 1374, 2388 (θαῦμα in both cases)
- φρίττω, mostly of shuddering before the celestial world and its representatives 717, 1373, 2520 etc.; often comb. w. ἱλιγγιάω, as 1306, 1345, 1698 etc. (cf. ἱλιγγιάω); of shuddering before Hades and the infernal powers 1067, 2852
- φρόνησις: μακάριοι οἱ σαλοὶ ὅτι πολλοὶ εἰσιν ἐν φρ. 705

Φρυγία 3939

φυλακή, of time 1150; of the dungeons in Hades 2328, 2406; prison 259, 4220, *a* 54; *e* 15 (E), *e* 31

φυλακτήριον 3563, *e* 65

φυλάττω: φύλαττε ἐκ keep your hands from 1431

φυρμός disorder 99 (ρήματά τινα τοῦ φ.; for the gen., cf. 2462f. τινα ῥήματα τῆς αὐτοῦ κακουργίας), 1882 (τοῦ φ. τῶν δαιμόνων)

φύρω: πεφυρμένος confused, fool 1046, 1272, 3573f.; 4262f.; see also \*παραφύρω

φύσις, of the nature of man 156, 2262, 3041, 3663; esp. of his sexual nature 1973 (τῇ φ. εὐνοῦχοι, cf. note ad loc., similarly *d* 217), 2724 (βράζων τὴν φ.); of angels and demons 792, 2853, 3223, 3288; in discussion of Trinity 3024, 3041; of all creatures 423 (cf. Jas. 3:7); of water 3047; of rain turned into snow 3238; φύσει probably = ἀληθῶς, ὄντως 103

φυτόν, in paradise 54, 494, 523, 545, 550, 558, 574, 588, 595, 697, 1691, 1697ff., 1716, 1719, 1749, 1752; ἀνθεοφόρον φ., of a tree as a symbol of the soul 2120; the newly baptized are like φυτὰ transplanted from darkness to light 3404

φωνάζω scream like a pig 1509, 2375, like a goat 2817

φωνή, a voice from heaven 500, 2015, 2021, 3778; from God *a* 162; from an angel 1121; from the relics of St Akakios 3672, 3676; from a shining light 681, 682; from a flash of lightning *d* 3; see also ὄργανον

φῶς *passim*; of heavenly or supernatural light 518, 664, 681, 1731, 1998 (ὁ τοῦ φ. ἄγγελος; also 2025f.), 3073, *d* 1, 2 and 276, *d* 377 (E), *e* 63; of God 835, 1806, *e* 67; the angels are light 3294; what is the essence of light? 3808f.; of Andrew's soul *e* 105f.

φωστήρ luminary, of angels 1613; of Andrew 1682, 2538, 3604, 3612, 3803, 4264; of Epiphanius 2177, 4326; to St Akakios 3656; of the pious 4098; of Sts Peter and Paul *e* 64

φώτισμα illumination, concerning the eyes 836

φωτοφόρος shining 1809

Χαλκοπρατεῖα τά 2585

χαλκός, of the idols of the Hellenes 3419

χαμεύνης sleeping on the ground 943

χάος 2523 (χ. τῆς ἀπωλείας), 3010 (chaos belongs to the third stage of creation), 4303, 4307

χάω, *pass.*, be destroyed *d* 140

χαρακτήρ icon 1468, 1490

χαριεντῶς (v.l. for χαριέντως) 440

χάρις *passim*; 2602 (the devil can enter man if he manages to drive out the



- grace of God); 2619 (the grace of holy baptism); 2627 (the magician drove out the grace from the icons)
- χάρισμα 1125 (ἡ χάρις τοῦ κατ' ἐμέ χ.), 1139, 1964, *c* 3
- χάρτης: τόμος χάρτου 1729
- χαρτουλάριος πλωίμων record-keeper of the imperial fleet 3769
- χάσμα 4300
- χασμωδέω: ἄδης καταπίνων χασμωδούμενος, yawn 2691
- χασμωδία yawn 1667
- χειλᾶς with thick lips, of an Ethiopian 316
- χείρ *passim*; χεῖρα πρὸς χ. κρατῶν τὸν μακάριον 858; τῷ παλλίῳ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ 973
- χειροκρατέω 385, 797, 1025, 3739
- χειροποίητος 4041 (ναός)
- χειροτονέω *e* 19 and 23
- χελιδών, in visions of heaven 1699, 1752 (symbolizing Andrew's soul), 3588, 3602
- χελώνη, in Hades *a* 130
- χερουβίμ 1742, 1823, 2991, 3693, *d* 275, *e* 68
- χηρεύω, of the Church, be without a patriarch 4326
- χιλίαρχος commander of demons 49, 136, *a* 89
- χιλιάς 1741, 2993, *e* 71 (τῶν χιλίων χ.)
- χίλιοι 1741, *e* 71
- \*χιονοειδής white as snow 514; also Gennadios Scholarios, ed. Petit-Siderides—Jugie, VIII (Paris, 1936), 495 (I owe this ref. to E. Trapp)
- \*χιονόπτερος with wings white as snow 534
- χιτών 29, 98, 332, 513, 703, 1047, 2068
- χιτώνιον 1451
- χιών, in comparisons concerning colour, brightness etc. 183, 566, 610, 626, 670, 966, 1035, 1600, 1767, 3076, 3589, 4238, *a* 17 and 30, *d* 2; explanation of snow and snowfall 3226ff.; 3180 (ὁ χ. ἄλευρος ἐχρημάτιζεν); note that χ. is fem. 670 but masc. 3180 and 3226
- χλαῖνα 1767, 3705, *a* 35 and 37
- χλαινηφόρος 604, 614
- χλοερός 965
- χλόη τῆς ἀναπαύσεως 700f.
- \*χλοηφορίζω 697f.
- χλοηφόρος 697
- χοῖρος 1062, 1395, 1509, 3494, 3954; the Lord regards τοὺς πόρνους ὡς τοὺς χ. 2365 (cf. 2727, 3374), τοὺς τραγῳδοῦντας ὡς χ. φωνάζοντας 2375
- χορεία: ταῖς χ. τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων 2910f.



χοροβατέω: ἄρσεν παιδίον χ. ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου c 11

χράομαι, a favourite verb (2251 and 2305 in the active form χρήσον); special cases: φυτὰ ... ἃ τοῖς μάκαρσι κέχρηνται trees for the use of the blessed 526; μήποτε δικαίως τὸ θεῖον χρήσῃται σε punish 1065; τίνι τρόπῳ ... οὕτως ἀποτόμως ἐχρήσω ἐλεγμοῖς τὸν προσφιλή σου; reproach 1079; ἐμὲ ... ῥάβδοις ἐχρήσαντο 1368f.; ὅση δυνάμει ἐχρήσατο with all his might 1410, similarly 2567 and b 4, also *VNiph*, ed. Rystenko, 116,28; χρήσαι αὐτῷ εἰς ἐξέτασιν put to interrogation 1417; χρήσον αὐτῷ εἰς νόσον βαρυτάτην let him be utterly ill 2305; οἷς ἐχράτο τῇ ἀσελείᾳ exploited for his debauchery 3792; τὰ τίμια σκευὴ ἐν μιάσματι χρήσονται defile 4064f.; χρ. τέλει τοῦ βίου die 2070, 2391, 4379, d 209, e 96; χρ. τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς do for the salvation of one's soul b 5

χρεῖα: τὴν σωματικὴν χρ. ποιεῖν relieve oneself 1241f., χρεῖας τινὸς ἔνεκα ἐξελεθεῖν 412f.

χρέος, pl. χρέη 2858

χρηματίζω to be 12, 612, 890 etc.

χριστιανός 749, 1060, 1517, 1839, 2636, 2841, 3183, 3519, 3913–20, 4059, 4080, 4215

Χριστός 58, 115, 671 (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός) etc.

χρίω anoint 1223; w. dat. 82; w. gen. 2508 (cf. χοίρῳ βεβορβορωμένῳ ἀνθρωπείας κόπρου 2727f.); w. acc. 2628; see also ἀλείφω

χρυσίον 52, 663, 965, 969, 1443, 1539, 2259, 3590, 3599; money 60, 62, 1958, 2018, 2054, 2056, 2107, 2109, 2123

χρυσός 2068, 3412 (of idols), 3848 (all hidden gold will be revealed)

χρυσοὺς 491, 3418 (of idols), 3692, a 19 and 35

χρυσοῦφῆς (v.l. for the following) 554

\*χρυσοφύης of golden nature 554; also *VBasilun*, fol. 115<sup>v</sup>, ed. Veselovskij, 49; cf. ἑτεροφυῆς

\*χρῶτος (?) 4176

χυδιάζω 1515f.; cf. *VNiph*, ed. Rystenko, 55,4 χυδιάζω ἐμαντόν, καὶ ὕβριν δεινὴν βάλλω; *ibidem* 148,24 ὅταν τίς σε ὕβριν βάλλει ... ἢ χυδαῖζει καὶ εὐτελίζει (thus χυδιάζω = χυδαῖζω); see also \*ἀναχυδιάζω

χύτρα 882; see also κύθρα

χωρικός 2556 (connotation uncertain)

ψάθα 277, 335 (vv. ll. ψάνθαν, ψιάνθιον); cf. ψιαθῖον

ψάλλω 101–5, 1500, 1504, 1516, 2138, 2657, 4207

ψαλμός 2571

ψαλμωδία 2145

ψαλτήριον the Book of Psalms 2663; as a school-book 19

[\*]ψάνθα 335 (cf. ψάθα); see also ψιαθίον

ψευδαμβάς (sic) *d* 330 (E)

ψεύστης: the Lord regards τοὺς ψ. ὡς τὸν ὄφιν 2367

ψήφος: τοὺς ψ. arithmetic, as a school subject 19; number of years running out 3913–20; ψήφον τριῶν ἡμερῶν *c* 28f.

[\*]ψιαθίον sleeping-mat 277 (v.l. ψάθαν), 335 (vv. ll. ψιανθίον, ψιάνθιον), 431 (vv. ll. ψάθαν, ψάνθαν); same accent *VloEl*, ed. Festugière, XIX, 22

[\*]ψιάνθιον 335 (cf. ψάθα); see also ψιαθίον

ψιθυρισμός τῶν χειλέων αὐτοῦ, of Andrew's secret prayer 291; see also ὑποψιθυρίζω

ψόφος demoniac noise 1172, 1515

ψυά loins, with play on ψύλλα (flea) *a* 177

ψυλλίζομαι catch fleas *a* 172

\*ψυχαπατήτρια deceiver of souls 783, fem. of ψυχαπάτης

ψυχή *passim*; stainless when put into the embryo 2925–7; its beauty destroyed by fornication 252, 2183; has ears which can be opened 1175; symbolized by a swallow/nightingale 1752f., by a flowery tree 2119f.; man's soul is τὸ πᾶν to him 2897f.; its essence is νοερὸν πνεῦμα etc. 2906f.; it is νοερά ... καὶ λογικὴ καὶ πνευματικὴ 3022; ἡ ψυχή μου ... σὺν τῷ πνεύματι 2421f.; where are the souls of the righteous now? 3296; at Resurrection 2967; ἔμπλησον τὴν ψ. σου satisfy your heart's desire 1354 (cf. 308); as a form of address 1555

ψυχικός 1091 (χρεῖα), 1959, 2465 (σωτηρία), 2722 (κάλλος), 3368 (ἁμαρτία), 3564 (ὄμματα), 4162 (στόμα καὶ λάρυγξ)

\*ψυχοανασπάστρια 'uprooter of souls', 783, cf. ψυχαπατήτρια; noted by Du Cange in the form ψυχοαναπάστρια; cf. Kriaras s.v. ἀνασπῶ, I, A', 1, γ

\*ψυχοφορώτατα 3995, dub. variant for ἥχω φοβερωτάτω

ψυχόω, pass. 1219

ψυχραίνω, pass. 487

ὥδε: ἀπὸ τῶν ὥ. 948 (cf. ἐκεῖ[σε])

ὥδιν: ἀρχὴ ὥδινων 3805, 3809, 3823, 3859, 3905f., 4002

ὡμοφόριον 1612, 1616 (bishop's insignia); 1886, 1904 (part of a dead young woman's grave clothes; v.l. μαφόριον, with which it was sometimes confused)

ὥρα *passim*; hour of day or night 253, 1784, 3650, 3683, 3736; τῇ ὥ. ταύτῃ 2672, 3797; πρὸ (ταύτης) τῆς ὥ. a little while ago 1610, 2290, 4159; ἕως ἐστὶν ὥρα 2753; ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ὥ. after the present hour 2295; ἐπὶ πολλὴν (ικανὴν) ὥ. or ἐπὶ πολλὰς (ικανὰς) ὥ. for a long while 209, 227,

438, 560, 575, 1503, 1744f., 2141, 2788f., 3744f., 3763f., 4155, 4247, *d* 260, *e* 140 (E); μικρὰν ὥ. 469; τακτὴ ὥ. 2529; see also ὀρίζω ὠραιόμορφος beautiful 1539; with ὠραιομόρφως a rather common word in *VBasilun*, see e.g. fol. 162<sup>v</sup>, ed. Veselovskij, 16, fol. 163, *ibidem*, fol. 193<sup>v</sup>, *ibidem*, 42, fol. 208<sup>v</sup>, *ibidem*, 55

ὠραιῶς 50, 57, 373, 608 etc., mostly of angels and celestial phenomena ὠραιότης 540, 674, 678, 863 (τοῦ κάλλους τὴν ὥ.), 1614, 1782

ὠραίισμα = ὠραιότης 1752

Ὡρολόγιον *a* 5

ὥς ἤδη: see ἤδη

ὠφέλεια spiritual benefit, edification 1954, 3554, 1789, 4268

ὠφελέω be of use, help 1462, 2277, 2283, 2308, 2394, 2865, 3536, *d* 94; edify 2941





ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS

*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*

Editor: Lennart Rydén

---

1. The Life of St Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices by *Jan Olof Rosenqvist*. 1986.
2. Gnomica Basileensia. Edited by *Jan Fredrik Kindstrand*. 1991.
3. *Vincent Déroche*. Études sur Léontios de Néapolis. 1995.
- 4:1. The Life of St Andrew the Fool. Edited by *Lennart Rydén*. I. Introduction, Testimonies and *Nachleben*. Indices. 1995.
- 4:2. The Life of St Andrew the Fool. Edited by *Lennart Rydén*. II. Text, Translation and Notes. Appendices. 1995.

Distributed by  
Almqvist & Wiksell International,  
Stockholm, Sweden

ISSN 0283-1244  
ISBN 91-554-3652-8